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ABSTRACT

This project studies attitude change toward U.S. Presidents using the conceptual framework and the methodology of a mathematical theory of information integration. The subjects received various paragraphs of information about certain U.S. Presidents, and evaluated them on general statesmanship. This evaluation requires the subjects to combine or integrate the information in the various paragraphs into a unitary attitude. Integration theory makes some straightforward predictions about how the information is integrated. Remarkably good results were obtained. Experiment I provided an initial test of the parallelism prediction of integration theory. It may be concluded that the information paragraphs were integrated into an overall attitude by a simple algebraic rule. Experiment II provided a more extensive test of the parallelism prediction. The results eliminated the adding hypothesis and supported the averaging hypothesis. The averaging effect seems fairly conclusive and should resolve the theoretical controversy centered on averaging-versus-adding. A very important methodological product of this work is the set of president paragraphs. Favorableness values are given for each president included. These should be useful in the general study of attitude development. Finally, integration theory leads to a new view of the relation between attitude change and learning theory. (Author/SLD)

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FINAL REPORT
PROGRESS REPORT

Project No. 9-0399

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# MATHEMATICAL ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION INTEGRATION WITH PARAGRAPH-TYPE VERBAL STIMULI

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## SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This project studied attitudes toward U.S. Presidents using the conceptual framework and the methodology of a mathematical theory of information integration. The subjects received various paragraphs of information about certain U.S. Presidents, and evaluated them on general statesmanship. This evaluation requires the subjects to combine or integrate the information in the various paragraphs into a unitary attitude. Integration theory makes some straightforward predictions about how the information is integrated.

Remarkably good results were obtained. These may be summarized under the following three points.

1. Experiment I provided an initial test of the parallelism prediction of integration theory. This prediction was strongly supported. It may be concluded that the information paragraphs were integrated into an overall attitude by a simple algebraic rule. This experiment, discussed in detail below, has been written up and is now in press in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.

2. Experiment II provided a further, more extensive test of the parallelism prediction. The data followed this prediction very well. In addition, the design yielded a critical test between the averaging and adding hypotheses. The results eliminated the adding hypothesis and supported the averaging hypothesis. The averaging effect seems fairly conclusive and should resolve the theoretical controversy that has centered on averaging-versus-adding. This experiment is described in detail below. It is being submitted for publication in the Journal of Educational Psychology.

3. An extremely important methodological product of this work is the set of president paragraphs. These are given in the Appendix. There are 16 paragraphs for each of 8 presidents, and 8 paragraphs for each of 7 presidents. The paragraphs for each president are divided equally among four favorableness values, from very favorable to very unfavorable. These paragraphs are based directly on historical sources. They represent an enormous amount of work and should be extremely useful in the general study of attitudes, especially because of their historical and educational relevance.

## IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The present work has implications at three levels of generality, from the specific experimental situation studied here to the problems of teaching attitudes in the schools.

First, the experimental results have given very strong support to the theory of information integration as applied to social attitudes. This is a striking result. The development of attitudes toward U.S. Presidents is a moderately complex cognitive process. Yet such attitudes follow quite simple laws of development according to the present findings. The data follow the parallelism predictions quite well and so provide exact quantitative support for integration theory. In addition, the averaging hypothesis was verified.

Second, at a more general theoretical level, the present results demonstrate the usefulness of the principle of information integration. This principle functions as an organizing theoretical concept. It has received substantial support in other areas of social judgment, and the present work confirms its applicability to attitude development.

Integration theory sheds a new light on many theoretical problems in psychology. It differs in certain fundamental ways from the theories of attitude that have been traditional in social psychology. Moreover, it shows that the relation between traditional learning theory and the development of attitudes is rather different from what has been the prevailing view. This new outlook will be important in the future of attitude theory.

Third, the present work has some important implications for research in educational psychology. Educational psychology has placed enormous emphasis on certain traditional learning situations, but has given relatively little attention to the development of attitudes. Yet attitudes, towards freedom and responsibility, towards democracy, towards the various parts of our cultural heritage, are not less important in the educational process than concept formation or the three Rs.

Attitudes should therefore be studied in their own right. The present work with the president paragraphs shows that it is possible to do laboratory experimentation that can have direct relevance to teaching and learning in the schools. The conceptual framework and the methodology of the theory of information integration provide a powerful system for the analysis of the problem.

EXPERIMENT I

# TEST OF INTEGRATION THEORY IN ATTITUDE CHANGE

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## ABSTRACT

A linear integration model for attitude change was tested in an experiment on judgments of U. S. Presidents. Ss received paragraphs describing the actions and achievements of various U. S. Presidents and rated them on statesmanship. The data generally supported the parallelism prediction of the model though one significant discrepancy was found. Order of presentation yielded a small nonsignificant primacy effect.

The purpose of this experiment was to apply a theory of information integration to attitude change. This theory has received substantial support in personality impression formation, as well as in other judgmental tasks (Anderson, 1968, 1970). The present experiment tests the theory with more complex semantic stimuli, factually based paragraphs about the actions and accomplishments of U. S. Presidents.

Within the theory, each communication is considered to have a scale value, s, and a weight, w. The scale value denotes its position on the dimension of judgment, general statesmanship in the present case. The weight, which reflects its importance, can depend on a variety of factors such as amount and reliability of the information, as well as serial position when, as here, sequential presentation is used. The theoretical response is just the weighted sum of the scale values: ws. If the weights sum to one, this is an averaging model. Adding and averaging models make essentially the same prediction in the present experiment, so this distinction will be ignored.

Similar models have been considered by a number of investigators (see Rosenberg, 1968). As yet, however, satisfactory quantitative tests have not been made in the area of attitude change. Such tests ordinarily require assessment of the discrepancies from prediction; high correlations between data and model are typically built into the stimulus design (Anderson, 1962) and in that case have little value as evidence. As one example, Sidowski and Anderson (1967) obtained correlations of .986 and .987 in two experiments on an adding model. However, both experiments showed a highly significant and psychologically important discrepancy from the model.

## METHOD

The Ss read sequences of two paragraphs, each dealing with the actions

of one U. S. President, and then rated the President on statesmanship. There were 12 different sequence conditions (listed in Table 1) which varied in paragraph value. Each S served in all 12 conditions with a different President in each.

Paragraph construction. Each paragraph was based directly on historical knowledge obtained from biographical and autobiographical references. Eight paragraphs were constructed for each President, two at each of four polarities: Highly favorable (H), moderately favorable ($M^+$), moderately unfavorable ($M^-$), and highly unfavorable (L). The 12 presidents were John Adams, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, Rutherford B. Hayes. Andrew Jackson, James Madison, Franklin Pierce, James Knox Polk, William Taft, John Tyler, Martin Van Buren, and Woodrow Wilson. One H paragraph will serve to illustrate the general tone and length of the paragraphs.

> "ANDREW JACKSON 1829 - 1837
>
> When Andrew Jackson was President, relations between the United States and Britain were still precarious. Jackson was remarkable for his ability to maintain harmony between the two countries. He smoothed over difficulties which arose, and acted in a statesmanlike manner to resolve conflicts of interest between the two countries. One such conflict arose over the question of trade between the British colonies and the United States. Britain had always taken advantage of her Caribbean possessions, blocking any trade which would have benefited the small American colonies. President Jackson moved quickly and decisively and was able to secure a reciprocity agreement with Britain which halted this injustice and opened up the desired avenues of trade."

Design. There were 12 different sequence types as listed in Table 1 below; 12 Presidents as listed above; and 12 ordinal positions for the basic set of 12 sequences received by each S. Complete balance of these three factors was obtained by employing a 12 x 12 greco-latin square. Thus each President appeared equally often with each sequence type and at each ordinal position.

Two within-S replications of this square were used. The second was identical to the first except that all paragraphs were complementary in value. For example, if the sequence about John Adams in the first square contained an H, $M^+$, or L paragraph, then in the second square the sequence about John Adams occurred at the same ordinal position, and contained an L, $M^-$, $M^+$, or H paragraph, respectively.

Procedure. After the instructions, Ss read a one-page summary of nineteenth century U. S. history to acquaint them with some of the main problems that the Presidents had faced. The tariff problem, for example, was recurrent and important and this was pointed up in the summary.

The two paragraphs about each President were in a 2-page booklet. Thirty seconds were allowed for reading each paragraph. After the first 30-second period, the experimenter said "Turn" and Ss turned the page and read the second paragraph. At the end of the 30-second period, the experimenter said "Rate." The Ss then wrote their rating on a separate

answer sheet and went immediately to the next booklet. The Ss moved a mask down the answer sheet to cover up previous responses.

Three practical sequences were given and these also served as stimulus end-anchors. Two practice sequences contained extremely favorable paragraphs about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, one contained extremely unfavorable information about Warren G. Harding.

Instructions and Ss. Instructions were to rate each President on the general quality of statesmanship and how well he did his job. Although some of the paragraphs dealt with actions when the man was not President, each paragraph was to be considered equally important.

Ratings were made on a scale from 0 (worst possible) to 10 (best possible). The Ss were told to use the entire scale but an emphasis was placed on avoiding the extremes.

The Ss were 72 students who were fulfilling a class requirement in introductory psychology. Half were of either sex, and they were run one to four at a time. Six Ss were randomly assigned to each row of the greco-latin square.

## RESULTS

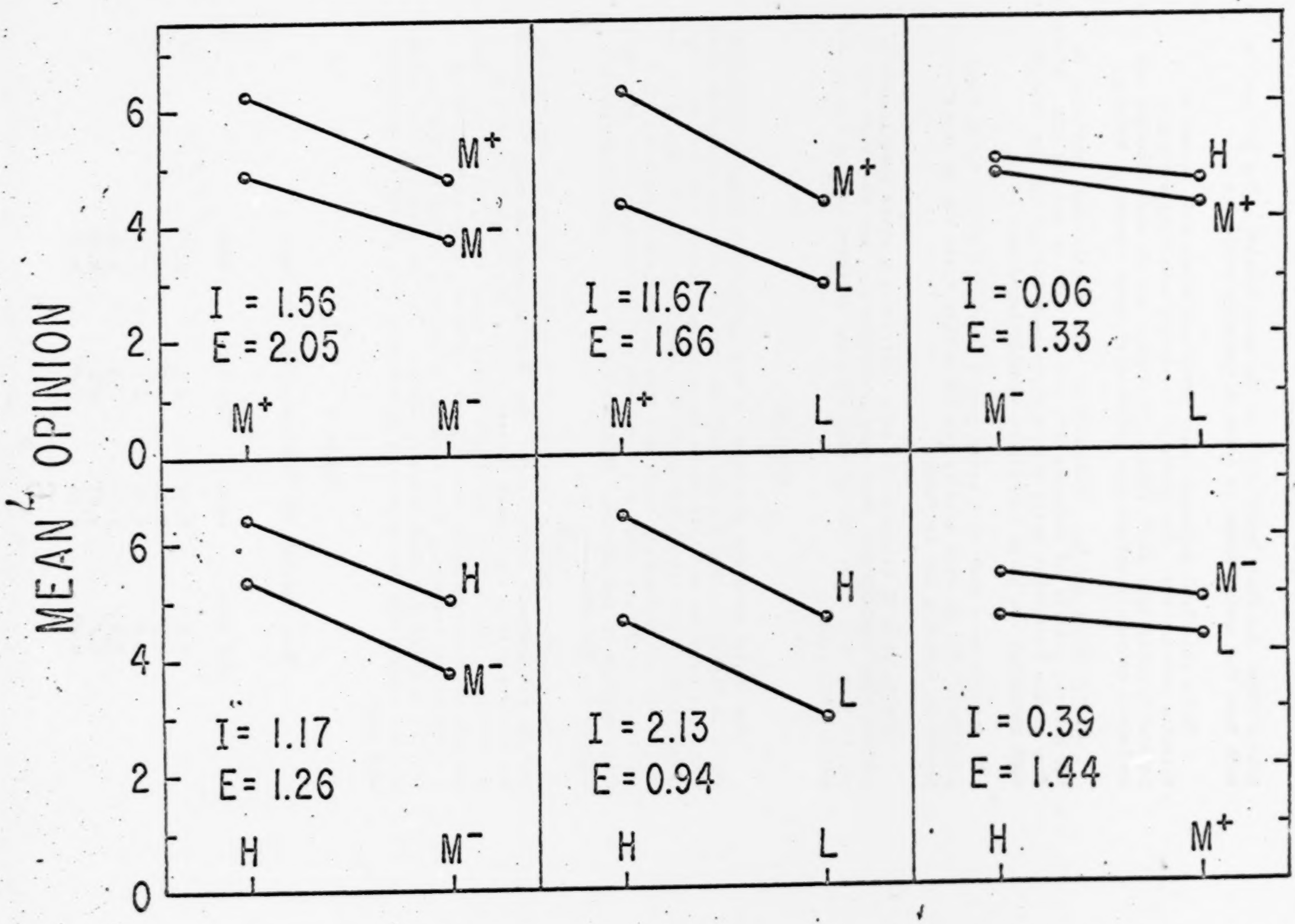
The design provides six tests of the integration model. These are shown in Figure 1. The theory predicts that the two curves in each panel should be parallel and this seems to be largely true. The deviation from parallelism in the top-center panel is significant, but on the whole the deviations are moderately small and show no consistent pattern. It should be noted that these six tests are not independent since each data point appears in two panels. Nevertheless the data provide reasonable support for the model.

The graphical test of parallelism is equivalent to the interaction test in the analysis of variance. The mean squares for each interaction and its error term are listed in each panel. The error terms are the respective S interactions on 71 df. These error terms, it may be noted, include Subject-President interactions. However, they averaged about a third of the between-S mean squares, reflecting a very substantial benefit from the repeated measures design. The two within-S replications yielded essentially the same results and have been pooled for presentation here.

Table 1

Mean Opinion for Each Paragraph Set Type

| Set type | Mean | Set type | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|
| H H | 6.48 | L L | 2.93 |
| $M^+M^+$ | 6.25 | $M^-M^-$ | 3.71 |
| H $M^-$ | 5.35 | H L | 4.58 |
| $M^-$H | 5.01 | L H | 4.59 |
| $M^+M^-$ | 4.97 | $M^+$L | 4.30 |
| $M^-M^+$ | 4.78 | L $M^+$ | 4.31 |


MEAN OPINION
6
4
2
0
M+
M−
I = 1.56
E = 2.05
M+
M−
M+
L
I = 11.67
E = 1.66
M+
L
H
M+
I = 0.06
E = 1.33
M−
L
H
M−
I = 1.17
E = 1.26
H
M−
H
L
H
L
I = 2.13
E = 0.94
H
L
M−
L
I = 0.39
E = 1.44
H
M+

The experiment also provides four tests of the effect of order of presentation. These are shown in the last four rows of Table 1. For example, the difference in response to HM⁻ and M⁻H is 5.35 - 5.01, a primacy effect of .34. The other three comparisons show two near-zero effects and one small primacy effect. Overall the primacy effect is only .13 which is not significant. In view of the inconsistency of the order effect literature in experiments on opinion change (e.g., Wallace & Wilson, 1969) these data may not deserve comment. Further work would need to study longer sequences and give particular attention to the transition from one paragraph to the next; both variables have been found to be important in personality impression formation (Anderson & Barrios, 1961; Stewart, 1965).

## DISCUSSION

The present results give resaonable preliminary support to the linear integration model as applied to attitude change. This model has been studied extensively in personality impressions and it may be hoped that other results will show the same generality. Further work is obviously needed, but the data give some basis to hope that rather complex semantic stimuli can be handled in a simple way.

An important advantage of the present approach is that it does not depend on prior stimulus scaling. This can be expecially valuable in attitude change work where it would often be difficult or impossible to measure the scale values of the communications before giving them. Moreover, if the model is supported, then functional measurement allows scaling of the stimulus values (Anderson, 1962, 1970).

An important methodological product of the experiment is the set of presidential paragraphs. These provide a large body of homogeneous information that allow each S to serve in a number of different experimental conditions. This allows each S to serve as his own control which can produce a marked increase in experimental power as already noted. Moreover, the same stimulus class can be used in studies of social decision processes and moral dilemmas that that face executives. Indeed, the historians often differed widely in their interpretations of Presidential motivations and actions. This was occasionally a problem in constructing the present stimuli, but it may be useful in studying integration of inconsistent material.

EXPERIMENT II

# INFORMATION INTEGRATION THEORY APPLIED TO ATTITUDES ABOUT U.S. PRESIDENTS

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No one doubts that schools play an important role in the development of social attitudes and opinions. This is especially true in history. Attitudes towards historical figures are largely developed through formal schooling. The schools function mainly as a transmitter, of course, since they reflect the prevailing social framework of attitudes. But even their role as transmitter is quite important.

It seems surprising, therefore, that rather little work has been done on the teaching and learning of attitudes, especially since attitude change has been probably the most studied area of social psychology. Yet the lack of information can be seen by perusing any standard text in educational psychology. The classic work of Newcomb (1951) at Bennington College, and the more extensive research on effects of fear appeals on health practices (see Leventhal, 1970) are noteworthy, but very limited compared to the research on concept formation or spelling, for example.

This article applies a new theory of attitude change to an experiment on attitudes toward U.S. Presidents. The theory rests on a principle of information integration. It takes the straightforward view that attitudes develop and change as the person receives new information and integrates it with his current attitude. This view makes it particularly congenial to the study of attitude change in the schools. This theory of information integration has been very successful in several areas of psychology (see Anderson, 1970, 1971).

Integration theory has a simple mathematical formulation and makes some straightforward quantitative predictions. The present and previous reports (Sawyers & Anderson, 1971) are designed to test some of the basic predictions of the theory.

## Averaging Hypothesis

One important question in integration theory is whether people combine information by adding or averaging it (Anderson, 1971). An adding-type formulation has been favored by a number of investigators, and it is

intuitively attractive on the argument that if favorable information is given, then the attitude should always become more favorable. The success of the parallelism prediction in the previous report with the president paragraphs (Sawyers & Anderson, 1971) gave equal support to both the adding and averaging models. However, there is considerable evidence from studies of social judgment that supports the averaging view (e.g., Lampel & Anderson, 1968; Oden & Anderson, 1971).

A critical test between averaging and adding can be obtained by adding mildly favorable information to highly favorable information. According to an adding model, more favorable information must increase the favorableness of the response. But in an averaging model, the response would tend to decrease because the average value of mildly favorable and highly favorable information is less than that of the highly favorable information. This simple prediction of a decrease in response may not always hold, depending on the influence of the initial attitude (Anderson, 1971). An interesting variation of this critical test is given here, as discussed in Table 3 under Results.

## Integration Model

Each piece of information is assumed to have two characteristics or parameters. One characteristic is its scale value. For example, the information in a paragraph might be more or less favorable toward the president. The other characteristic is the importance or weight, which will depend on several factors. For example, some very favorable information might not be very relevant to presidential performance. Analogously, the information might be very unfavorable but attributed to an unreliable source and so carry little weight. The present experiment attempted to keep weight constant and vary only scale value. However, the study of the weight parameter itself would also be of considerable interest.

The integration equation has a simple form as a general algebraic judgment model. Devote the scale value and weight of the person's initial attitudes by $s_0$ and $w_0$. Let Stimulus i have value $s_i$ and weight $w_i$. Then the response to a combination of N informational stimuli is

$$R = \sum_{i=0}^{N} w_i s_i \qquad (1)$$

As it stands, Equation 1 is an adding model. The averaging model makes the further requirement that the sum of the weights is one. Mathematically, this may be accomplished by dividing the right hand side of Equation 1 by $\Sigma w_i$ for each stimulus combination.

This integration model has two important properties. First, it is possible to get a powerful quantitative test of its validity by a simple application of a factorial design. This leads to a parallelism prediction in terms of the raw data. Second, it is possible to use functional measurement theory to scale the stimuli. This has several advantages over Thurstonian paired comparison scaling, for example.

TABLE 1

Theoretical response to combinations of two communications constructed according to a 2 x 3 factorial design.

| | Column Communication | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | P | Q | R |
| A | $w_1 s_A + w_2 s_P$ | $w_1 s_A + w_2 s_Q$ | $w_1 s_A + w_2 s_R$ |
| B | $w_1 s_B + w_2 s_P$ | $w_1 s_B + w_2 s_Q$ | $w_1 s_B + w_2 s_R$ |
| Difference | $w_1(s_A - s_B)$ | $w_1(s_A - s_B)$ | $w_1(s_A - s_B)$ |
| Mean | $c + w_2 s_P$ | $c + w_2 s_Q$ | $c + w_2 s_R$ |

Note: The row communications, A and B, are assumed to have equal weight $w_1$; the column communications, P, Q, and R, are assumed to have equal weight $w_2$; the weight of the initial attitude is assumed to be zero for simplicity. Scale values are denoted by s with appropriate subscripts. The constant c has the value $w_1(s_A + s_B)/2$.

Both these properties can be illustrated in the simple 2 x 3 design of Table 1. The entry in each cell of the 2 x 3 table is the theoretical response to a combination of two communications, one from the corresponding row and one from the corresponding column. For example, the theoretical response of a person who receives Communication A and Communication P is $w_1 s_A + w_2 s_P$ as listed in the upper left cell of the table. For simplicity, the initial attitude, $s_0$, is ignored.

Parallelism prediction. The parallelism prediction is illustrated in the third row of Table 1 labelled Difference. These entries are obtained by subtracting the second row from the first. As can be seen, these differences are all equal so that the two rows differ by a constant in each column. Graphically, therefore, the two rows of data should plot as two parallel curves. This parallelism prediction thus allows a very simple graphical test of the model as illustrated in Figure 1 under Results.

The parallelism prediction depends on the assumption that two communications do not interact when combined. Thus, the meaning and importance of a favorable communication are assumed to be the same regardless of whether it is paired with another favorable communication or with an unfavorable communication. The illustration in Table 1 also assumes that the three column communications have the same weight, $w_1$. This assumption is necessary for the averaging model which would predict systematic deviations from parallelism for differential weighting. An adding model, however, would still predict parallelism even differential weighting.

Functional measurement. According to the last row of Table 1, the column means are a linear function of the scale values of the column stimuli. This means that the column means constitute estimates of the scale values of the column stimuli on an equal interval scale. This scaling procedure opens the possibility of measuring stimulus values for each individual person which is not feasible for verbal stimuli using traditional paired comparisons or successive intervals scaling. This property of integration theory is important because the stimuli used in studies of social judgment will often mean quite different things to different people.

## METHOD

The subjects read eight booklets, each containing two or four paragraphs that described the action of one U.S. President. After finishing the booklet, they rated the president on a 0 to 10 scale of statesmanship and accomplishment. The main stimulus variable was the favorableness of the paragraph, and the sequence in a given booklet could contain positive, negative, or mixed information. All subjects judged the same eight presidents but different subjects received different sequences of information about a given president.

The general scheme of the experimental design should be clear in the results shown in Figure 1 and Table 3 below. The design itself required some straightforward but detailed balancing and may perhaps be skipped in an initial reading.

Design. Eight different sequence types were used as shown in Table 2. A, B, C, and D denote paragraphs ranging from high to low in favorableness, and the subscripts denote particular paragraphs for a given president. Booklets for each of these eight sequences were constructed for each of the eight presidents.

TABLE 2

The eight basic sequences of paragraphs

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| $A_1A_2$ | $A_1A_2A_3A_4$ | $A_1A_2C_3B_4$ | $A_1A_2D_3D_4$ |
| $D_1D_2$ | $D_1D_2A_3A_4$ | $D_1D_2C_3B_4$ | $D_1D_2D_3D_4$ |

Note: A, B, C, and D denote paragraphs of very favorable, mildly favorable, mildly unfavorable, and very unfavorable value, respectively. Subscripts denote particular paragraphs for a given U.S. President. Paragraphs listed in order of presentation in booklets.

It should be emphasized that the six sequences of four paragraphs in Table 2 form a 2 x 3 factorial design. The levels of the row factor are the pairs of paragraphs, $A_1A_2$ and $D_1D_2$; the levels of the column factor are the pairs of paragraphs, $A_3A_4$, $C_3B_4$, and $D_3D_4$. Figure 1 below will show the mean response to the six sequences in this 2 x 3 design.

The ideal method for presenting the sequences is by use of an 8 x 8 greco-latin square (Edwards, 1960). This allowed each subject to serve as his own control, thus reducing the error term in the between-sequence comparisons. Furthermore, it allows simultaneous control of three variables: president, sequence type, and serial order of the eight sequence types. With this method, each subject judged each president once and each sequence type once. Over a group of eight subjects, all combinations of president and sequence type occurred. Moreover, each president and each sequence type occurred once at each serial position.

Stimulus replications. For added generality, two stimulus replications were employed. One of these is shown in Table 2. The other was similar except that it used the remaining paragraphs for each president wherever possible, and the CB pair was given in the reverse BC order. Each subject received the eight sequences of one stimulus replication, and after a short rest the eight sequences of the other stimulus replication. The same 8 x 8 greco-latin square was used in both stimulus replications in the same manner as in previous work (Sawyers & Anderson, 1971). The two stimulus replications were given in different orders for half the subjects.

In the second replication, it should be noted, the subject judged the same eight presidents again, though six of the eight sequences contained all new information. It was expected, therefore, that the subjects would be less influenced by the information in the second replication and this was found to be the case. However, there were no interactions between first and second replications in any of the relevant statistical tests. Accordingly, the replication variable is not further considered and only the pooled data are presented.

President paragraphs. Sixteen paragraphs, four of each value, were written for each president. They were based on standard historical biographies and autobiographies. Most of the paragraphs had been used in previous work (Sawyers & Anderson, 1971) but others were added to meet the needs of the present experiment. The eight presidents were John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

One mildly unfavorable paragraph about Theodore Roosevelt will illustrate the general quality and length of the stimuli:

> "Outspoken and often tactless, Theodore Roosevelt on one occasion attacked several nature writers. One nature writer in particular had written a book in which he attributed human characteristics to wild animals. Roosevelt took the author to task, although admitting at the time, "I know that as President I ought not to do this." His outburst angered many naturalists, and they retaliated by pointing out the fact that Roosevelt was only a big game hunter and not qualified to criticize them in this manner."

Procedure. The instructions were read to the subject and indicated that each president was to be judged on the general qualities of statesmanship and how well he did his job. It was emphasized that each president was to be judged in the context of his times, relative to the particular problems that he faced. To implement this, the subject was required to read twice a one-page History Summary. One purpose of this was to avoid undue concern with slavery, and inattention to tariff problems. It also made the task more realistic and the subjects appreciated.

Four practice booklets were given using information about Washington, Lincoln, and Harding. These also served as stimulus end anchors for the two ends of the rating scale, and helped avoid end effects in the main data.

The face page of each booklet listed the presidents' name and years in office. The booklets with only two paragraphs ended with two blank sheets so that the subject could not tell beforehand how many paragraphs were in the booklet. The subject spent 30 seconds on each page of the booklet, turning pages on command. The response was made orally after all the paragraphs had been read. Strict serial presentation was employed so that turning back to a previous page was not allowed.

Subjects. There were 48 subjects, 32 volunteers from an introductory class who received extra credit for participating, and 16 from the same general pool who were paid $1.87 for serving. They were run individually in a session lasting about an hour.

## RESULTS

### Averaging Hypothesis

The critical test between the averaging and adding hypotheses is shown in Table 3. The left column shows the mean response to the sequence of two very favorable paragraphs, AA, and the two very unfavorable paragraphs, DD. The rationale of the critical test is based on adding to AA and DD the same neutral information, C consisting of the pair of paragraphs, CB.

TABLE 3

Test of averaging hypothesis

| Sequence | Response | Sequence | Response |
|---|---|---|---|
| AA | 7.23 | AACB | 6.61 |
| DD | 3.83 | DDCB | 4.26 |

Note: The neutral point on the scale is around 5, higher values being positive, lower values being negative.

The adding hypothesis predicts that the BC paragraphs should have very little effect on the response because their combined effect is nearly neutral, around 5 on the response scale. Some small effect might be expected, of course, since the mildly favorable B paragraph would probably not exactly cancel the mildly unfavorable C paragraph. Whatever effect there might be should be in the same direction in both rows of the table according to the adding hypothesis.

The averaging hypothesis, in contrast, predicts that the neutral BC information should lower the response of AA and raise the response to DD. Averaging in neutral information should decrease the mean value of the very favorable AA paragraphs, but it should increase the mean value of the very unfavorable DD paragraphs.

The data unequivocally support the averaging hypothesis as can be seen in Table 3. The averaging effect is highly significant for the positive information though it fell somewhat short for the negative information, $F(1,46) = 11.12$ and 3.12, respectively.

### Parallelism Prediction

The test of parallelism is based on the six sequences that contained

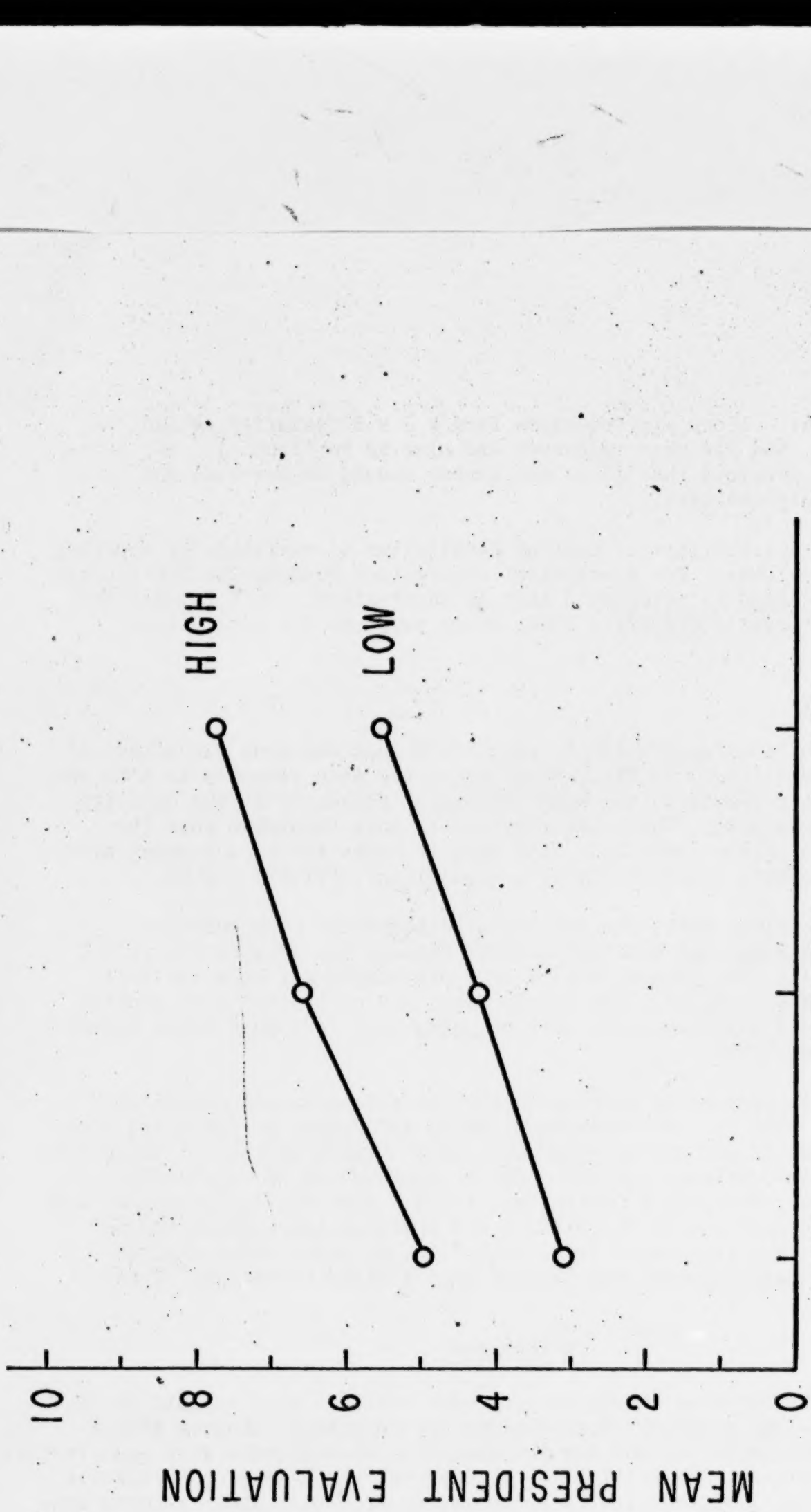


Figure 1, Experiment II. Mean evaluation of presidents for the six sequences of four paragraphs. Integration theory predicts the two curves should be parallel.

four paragraphs. These six sequences form a 2 x 3 factorial design, as already noted, and the mean responses are plotted in Figure 1. The integration model predicts that these two curves should be parallel and this is approximately the case.

An exact statistical test of parallelism is available by applying analysis of variance. The statistical interaction between the two factors of the 2 x 3 design is actually a test of parallelism. This interaction was not significant , $F(2,92) = 2.86$, which supports the parallelism prediction.

Recency Effect

A longstanding problem in attitude change concerns the effect of order of presentation. In the present data, the mean response to AADD was 4.93; the mean response to the same paragraphs presented in the opposite order, DDAA, was 5.48. Thus, the response is more favorable when the favorable information comes last than when it comes first, a recency effect. This recency effect was statistically significant, $F(1,46) = 9.65$.

In previous work, the writers used sequences with only two president paragraphs and obtained neither primacy nor recency (Sawyers & Anderson, 1971). The present use of four paragraphs may be a critical variable in this respect. The present data are consistent with general recency obtained over sequences of four paragraphs in a jury trial experiment (Anderson, 1959).

The literature on primacy-recency is extensive and complicated (see McGuire, 1969, p. 214; Rosenberg, 1968) and cannot be discussed here. However, it should perhaps be noted that single words instead of paragraphs typically produce primacy effects under a standard set of conditions (Anderson, 1965; Hendrick & Costantini, 1970). Also the difference between two and four paragraphs in the present and previous experiments may be worth noting. The literature on attitude change, which shows a mixed picture on primacy-recency, has largely been limited to the use of two communications.

## DISCUSSION

The integration theory of attitudes receives good support in the present data. The parallelism prediction was confirmed, showing that a simple equation could account for the formation of attitudes at a quantitative level. In addition, the critical test supported the averaging hypothesis, that information is integrated by an averaging process. These results confirm and extend previous work on social judgment (Anderson, 1971). Thus, they increase the solidity and scope of the theoretical structure.

This outcome is pleasant in two respects. It demonstrates that a simple model can account for a moderately complex cognitive process. Moreover, the president judgments are reasonably similar to the materials that are found in elementary history texts. There is reason to hope, therefore,

that the results obtained in this kind of laboratory work will transfer directly to practical school problems of teaching and learning.

On this basis, the methodology underlying integration theory may be applied to study other problems of attitude change. One problem arises when some stimulus factor is weighted differentially as a function of its scale value. Degree of integrity, for example, would probably carry a greater weight in evaluating a president when it was somewhat low than when it was high. At low levels, it would interfere with or color his performance, but at high levels other characteristics, such as the ability to lead men, would assume more importance. Differential weighting of this kind seems to be widespread in social judgment (Oden & Anderson, 1971). Fortunately, the present analysis can be extended to handle differential weighting in a reasonably simple way.

Even more important would be the study of discounting, in which some of the given information receives lower weight by virtue of its relation to the other information. For example, a negative item might be discounted when it conflicts with or contradicts one of several positive items. Most everyday attitude change situations involve conflicting and unreliable information in which discounting processes are likely to be pervasive.

Finally, integration theory leads to a new view of the relation between attitude change and learning theory. The traditional learning theory approach (e.g., Hovland, Lumsdaine, & Sheffield, 1949) has taken verbal learning as primary and has attempted to make attitude change derivative from the verbal learning. This approach is attractive and has had considerable study, but it has not worked out (McGuire, 1969, p. 266). Indeed, Anderson and Hubert (1963) found evidence for separate memory systems for the verbal material and for the attitude.

In the present formulation, attitudes are learned per se, and are not derivative products of the verbal memory. The verbal material may function as a carrier of the meaning, but once the meanings are integrated into the attitude, the verbal material is no longer required. On this view, it is no surprise that no clear relation between attitudes and verbal memory has emerged.

Educational psychology has placed enormous emphasis on certain traditional learning situations, but has given relatively little attention to the development of attitudes. Yet attitudes, towards freedom and responsibility towards democracy, towards our cultural heritage, are not less important than concept formation or the three Rs. If the present view is correct, the learning situations traditionally studied have little relevance to the understanding of attitudes. Attitudes should, therefore, be studied in their own right.

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## Appendix: PRESIDENT PARAGRAPHS

This appendix gives the president paragraphs that were constructed for this research. They are based on standard historical biographies and autobiographies. For the most part, each paragraph is restricted to one piece of information, usually a general trait illustrated by a particular incident.

For 8 of the presidents, 16 paragraphs were constructed. For 7 of the presidents, 8 paragraphs were constructed. For each president, the paragraphs were divided into four classes according to their overall level of favorableness as follows:

A: very favorable
B: mildly favorable
C: mildly unfavorable
D: very unfavorable

Each paragraph is preceded by a letter-number code in which the letter denotes the favorableness value, and the number denotes the number of the paragraph within its class.

The presidents are listed in chronological order, first the group of 16-paragraph presidents, then the group of 8-paragraph presidents.

16-paragraph presidents

John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
James Monroe
Andrew Jackson
Grover Cleveland
Theodore Roosevelt
William Howard Taft
Woodrow Wilson

8-paragraph presidents

James Madison
Martin Van Buren
John Tyler
James Knox Polk
Franklin Pierce
Rutherford B. Hayes
Benjamin Harrison

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

(A1) John Adams was the first Vice-President of the United States, and he played an effective role as the presiding officer of the new U.S. Senate. The Senate was small and split politically, and Adams used his tie-breaking vote to support President Washington on several important issues. This legislation was especially significant since it helped set the course of events in the newly formed nation. In his second term as Vice-President, he worked very hard to improve international relations. His firm support helped ratify an important treaty with Great Britain, and he also worked for peaceful settlement of differences with the French government.

(A2) John Adams played several important roles in the American Revolution. As a young lawyer of humble origin, he became known for his forthrightness and integrity. Adams was a strong advocate of economic freedom in the Colonies. When Britain passed the oppressive Stamp Act, Adams became one of its most forcible opponents; his article questioning the legal validity of the Stamp Act had widespread influence throughout the Colonies. From this beginning, he was soon completely absorbed in the Revolutionary struggle. As a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and later as a delegate to the Continental Congress, Adams continued his efforts to set up an effective democracy.

(A3) The Declaration of Independence, which begins with the revolutionary words, "All men are created equal," is one of the basic documents of this country. Much of the credit for the Declaration of Independence goes to John Adams. He worked hard on the drafting of this important document, clarifying ideas and resolving differences of opinion. Then, in a brilliant speech to the Continental Congress, he did much to win its acceptance. This accomplishment began his long career of public service. He became the first Vice-President, and followed George Washington to become the second President of the United States.

(A4) Probably the most difficult problem that faced President John Adams was in our relations with France. The French were then at war with the British and sometimes harassed American vessels on the high seas for their support of the British. This produced a great deal of war feeling, in the public, in Congress, and even in Adams' own Cabinet. However, Adams believed that war with France was unnecessary and undesirable. He pursued negotiations abroad with the French while attempting to keep the war party under control at home. The negotiations were long and there were many complications. However, Adams persevered with great skill, outwitting the war party and reached an honorable agreement with the French. The resulting treaty of Morfontaine began a long-lasting peace between our nation and France.

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

(B1) Early in his political career, John Adams was chosen by the Congress to be the American envoy to Holland. Negotiations were difficult and prolonged over a two-year period, but he was successful in obtaining a treaty of amity and commerce with the government in Amsterdam, and smoothed relations between this country and the Dutch leaders. Adams also obtained a much-needed loan from the Dutch government and returned to this country encouraged by the warm reception an envoy of the new nation had received.

(B2) In an attempt to negotiate a treaty of commerce and friendship, President John Adams sent a commission to France. The agents representing the French government demanded not only a large official loan to France, but also wanted sizable personal bribes. President Adams refused, and in his report of this incident the French agents were referred to as X, Y and Z to protect their identity. The "X Y Z Affair" as it became known, stirred up much patriotic excitement in this country, and the citizens were pleased that the President refused to be a part of it.

(B3) In the riots and agitation resulting from the British Stamp Tax, an unfortunate series of circumstances led to the arrest of a group of British soldiers. Then a young lawyer, John Adams was against the Stamp Tax, but he believed that every man deserved a fair trial. Accordingly, Adams volunteered to serve as defense lawyer for the British troops although he knew that many American colonists would criticize him for this.

(B4) As President of the United States, John Adams put forth a number of recommendations to Congress. Among the measures that were subsequently passed into law was a provision which decreased the size of the army, releasing many officers and men from the service. Adams also set forth guidelines for judiciary reform. The bill that was passed created new judgeships, freeing the Supreme Court Justices from the time-consuming task of sitting as circuit judges.

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

(C1) When he was Vice-President, John Adams published an anonymous series of political-philosophical articles entitled, "Discourses on Davila." Among other things, these articles warned against the dangers of a pure democracy, and criticized the French Revolution, then a popular idol. It soon became known of course, that Adams was the author and the articles were interpreted as an attack on the Secretary of State. Public criticism was more severe than was really justified, but Adams had furnished his political enemies with ammunition that they later used against him.

(C2) John Adams was much taken by the ceremonies and customs of the royal courts during his stay as American envoy in Europe, and he affected courtly manners and dress upon his return. As Vice-President, Adams would lecture the Senate at great length on the virtues of following parliamentary customs of the House of Lords. In consequence, Adams was mockingly called "His Rotundity," because he was fat as well as pompous. These manners were politically unwise in the immediate aftermath of the Revolutionary War and did much to isolate Adams from his party as well as from the people.

(C3) President John Adams has been held responsible for the demise of the Federalist Party. This political party, the first in the country, was fragmented by disagreements between Adams and other prominent party members. Adams' opponents were no less to blame, but Adams did little to heal the split. The disunity was a significant factor in Adams' defeat for reelection, and the Federalist Party never again played an important role in American politics.

(C4) John Adams had a long-standing feud with Alexander Hamilton in which both men acted badly at times. Although Hamilton supported Adams for President in 1796, he disagreed with and opposed many of Adams' Presidential policies. Adams in turn deeply distrusted Hamilton, considering him "a man devoid of moral principle," and repeatedly insinuated that he was a member of the pro-British faction. When he was President, Adams tried to prevent Hamilton from being made second in command in the army and only gave in at the insistence of George Washington.

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801

(D1) Among the most detested legislation ever passed by an American Congress were the Alien and Sedition Laws, enacted during the administration of John Adams. These laws gave the President power to seize or deport resident aliens in war or threat of war, and they also established penalties for "printing, writing, or speaking in a scandalous or malicious way against the government of the United States." President Adams favored the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws and later caused the prosecution of one Thomas Cooper who had published a pamphlet strongly critizing Adams. These laws were used in many instances as political weapons by frightened or vindictive men and they caused much injustice. In later years, they were declared unconstitutional.

(D2) President John Adams' bluntness and lack of tact, and his self-willed character seriously handicapped his administration. He was unable to inspire loyalty in his subordinates, and he was often inept in his dealings with Congress. Often hot-tempered, and always unbending, Adams had made many enemies in public life, and was consequently defeated in his bid for a second term. Disappointed and bitter, Adams finished his packing in the night and left town before dawn on the day his successor was inaugurated.

(D3) President John Adams' "Midnight Judges" have been considered one of the black marks of his administration. In his last days in office, Adams nominated 18 new United States judges. These men were given their posts as rewards for political support, and many were ill-qualified for the job. Adams' judiciary law, which allowed this to occur, was repealed after Adams was defeated for reelection, and all the Midnight Judges lost their offices.

(D4) When President John Adams took office, he had very few friends he could trust. His popularity in his own party was low, and he did not know what men to choose for his Cabinet. For some reason, he decided to retain the previous Cabinet members, although he must have realized that many of them opposed his policies. This decision, which has puzzled historians ever since, caused many of the difficulties he experienced in his administration. Lack of loyal support in his own Cabinet hindered Adams at every turn, yet it was only late in his administration that he did anything about it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801-1809

(A1) At a time when most men in this country saw the institution of slavery as essential to the American economy, Thomas Jefferson spoke out strongly against this practice. Although he realized that the immediate abolition was not possible, he continually wrote and spoke of the national disgrace that slavery was imposing on this country. His opinions made him many enemies, particularly in the South, but he held to them. When he became President, Jefferson partially fulfilled his goal by sponsoring and signing an important bill strictly forbidding any future traffic in slavery in the U.S.

(A2) After Thomas Jefferson left the Presidency, he set out to accomplish one of the great ambitions of his life, that of setting up a university in his home state of Virginia. Jefferson had always been vitally interested in education, and he made extensive studies of several European university systems to draw the best features from each. After this university was built, Jefferson served as the first rector. Jefferson's achievement was a great asset to the state of Virginia. It also served as a blueprint for the State universities which are so important in our educational system today.

(A3) When the American colonies were ruled by England, one of the major complaints was the enforced taxation to support the state church. Thomas Jefferson strongly disapproved of this practice. After U.S. independence was won, he fought for complete separation of church and state. In his native state of Virginia, he was able to obtain the passage of the Bill for Religious Freedom which asserted that "civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions." This legislation provided that members of churches themselves would pay for the maintenance of the church, and that these payments would be voluntary rather than compulsory.

(A4) Thomas Jefferson was one of the most versatile men ever to ascend to the Presidency, an acknowledged scholar, inventor, lawyer, and naturalist. Nicknamed "The Sage of Monticello," he had interests that ran the gamut from literature to astronomy to agriculture. While an ambassador abroad, Jefferson sent home many seeds and plants along with carefully gathered information on new farming methods which might improve U.S. agriculture. Jefferson's inventions were varied also, from the invention of the swivel chair to the design of a plow which won an international prize. Jefferson refused to patent any of his inventions, desiring to make these items useful to the people of the country without restrictions.

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801-1809

(B1) Thomas Jefferson, as a delegate to the first Continental Congress, drew up the original draft of the Declaration of Independence. This document welded philosophic principles with practical explanations which justified America's desire for independence. In the Declaration, Jefferson did not put forth new or revolutionary ideas; rather he incorporated those ideas present in the country at the time. For this reason, the points put forward in the document were truly "self-evident." The Declaration was carefully reviewed and edited by the Congress, and was adopted on July 4, 1776.

(B2) During the administration of Thomas Jefferson the great Louisiana Purchase was made. Early in his Presidency, Jefferson had been interested in exploring the unknown areas of the West, and had personally selected two well-known men, Lewis and Clark, to traverse and chart this territory. When he made an offer to France to buy a portion of this land, France unexpectedly offered all the Louisiana Territory. Jefferson immediately seized the opportunity. This transaction doubled the area of the U.S. and provided land from which 13 of our states were developed.

(B3) When an independent system of government was established in this country, Thomas Jefferson was sent abroad as the first American Minister to France. His difficult assignment was to try to negotiate treaties of commerce with several European nations. Because the U.S. was a very new and unproved nation, the large European countries were reluctant to enter into agreements with it. Jefferson, however, was able to secure a treaty with Prussia, and finally, after a great deal of hard diplomatic work, France also signed an important trade agreement with the U.S.

(B4) Thomas Jefferson was a student of government and considered the study of political matters to be a science. He was opposed to the strong concentration of power in the central government. However, adhering to this philosophy in actual practice was not always possible. When he became Secretary of State, Jefferson often found that a government run entirely "by the people" was difficult to achieve. He persevered, however, in his ideals, and lent the balance which helped maintain the spirit of the Constitution during the early years of the new government.

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801-1809

(C1) President Thomas Jefferson sometimes became so personally involved with an issue that he let emotion rather than reason guide his actions. For example, in the trial of Aaron Burr for treason, Jefferson publicly declared Burr guilty "beyond all doubt" even before a jury had heard the case. Such a statement from the President himself suggested that he considered a conviction more important than a fair trial. The Burr trial was poorly handled by the administration, with their chief witness being a man himself implicated as a traitor. Burr was finally acquitted of the charges, due mainly to a complete lack of evidence.

(C2) When Thomas Jefferson was Secretary of State he got into an unpleasant feud with the Secretary of the Treasury. At that time there were severe financial problems in the country, and the Secretary of the Treasury proposed a Bank Bill which provided for certain economic reforms. However, Jefferson fought the measure stubbornly, and when the Bill was passed into law, he attacked the Treasury Secretary on a personal basis. This dispute caused a great deal of dissension within the administration.

(C3) During the time he was Governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson was involved in an unfortunate incident dealing with the handling of certain prisoners of war. Three prisoners were brought to him, including an important British general. By diplomatic custom, prisoners of high rank were paroled and exchanged. However, Jefferson had received reports that this general had indulged in cruel practices and he became emotionally involved. He had the prisoners put in chains and denied them all privileges of communication. National leaders protested to Jefferson, fearing reprisals from the British. Jefferson refused to reverse his decision, but finally after a year of imprisonment the men were paroled in accordance with usual practice.

(C4) Thomas Jefferson took office as the third President of the U.S. in one of the most contested elections in American history. Jefferson's backers tried to arrange electoral votes to assure his winning the election, but Jefferson and his opponent wound up in a tie. The decision then had to be made in the House of Representatives, and ballot after ballot was cast without a decision being reached. Finally, representatives from three states contacted Jefferson through an intermediary and promised him their votes in return for certain pledges of action when he became President. The terms were reported agreed upon, although Jefferson later denied that he had made any such bargain. Nevertheless, on the next ballot, the 35th, Jefferson received the needed votes to win the election.

THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801-1809

(D1) Shortly after taking office, President Thomas Jefferson began a long fight to remove district and Supreme Court judges who were not of his political party. After successfully impeaching one district judge, Jefferson moved directly against a Supreme Court member. Jefferson was defeated in this attempt, however, and the judge was finally absolved of all Jefferson's charges. Throughout his administration he attempted to take away the powers granted to the Supreme Court by the Constitution. At one time he even tried to get Congress to impeach the entire Court, planning to appoint his own men to the positions. Fortunately Jefferson's moves were blocked in every case, and the Court remained an important and essential part of the check and balance system of our government.

(D2) In his Inaugural Address, President Thomas Jefferson pledged that he would remove no one from government office for political purposes. However, he immediately began to do just that, thus beginning the spoils system in government. In one glaring example, Jefferson removed a competent employee from an important job and installed in his place a 77-year-old man who was feeble in mind and body, with absolutely no qualifications for the office except that he belonged to Jefferson's political party. In response to public protest, Jefferson issued a statement to the effect that just as soon as a political balance was reached, men would be put in office on the basis of their qualifications, but not before.

(D3) As Governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson proved to be an extremely weak leader. Jefferson was unable to handle state financial matters, and as a consequence the Virginia militia was left without guns, bullets, food, or even shoes, at a time when British troops were attempting to overrun the country. After several disasters, the militia was completely demoralized and refused to respond to the call to arms. The British met little resistance and easily invaded the state capitol which they burned and looted. For the rest of his term, Governor Jefferson was unable to get the state assembly to meet and no reconstruction of the government could be begun. Finally, Jefferson resigned from office, turning the job over to a stronger leader.

(D4) During his last term in office, Thomas Jefferson put into force an Embargo which caused great economic hardship in this country. Jefferson was warned by his Secretary of the Treasury and several other national leaders that the Embargo would be a financial disaster, and that it would impose unconstitutional controls on individual states and private citizens. Jefferson ignored their warnings. The months went by and conditions in the country became rapidly worse as ports were closed and food supplies diminished. Protests came from the citizens, the state governors, and even Jefferson's Cabinet revolted against his stubborn pursuit of the Embargo. Finally, after 15 months, Congress repealed the Embargo over Jefferson's strong protests.

JAMES MONROE 1817-1825

(A1) As a very young man, James Monroe fought for independence in this country, becoming a colonel in the Revolutionary army by the time he was 21. After independence was won, he was elected to the Congress of Confederation and played a leading role in establishing guidelines for the new government. Monroe was appointed to head the committee to deal with commerce in the new nation, which he did with much success. James Monroe became one of the most active Founding Fathers when debate began over the ratification of the Constitution. He strongly believed that basic rights of the individual citizen should be incorporated in the document, and he led the fight which gave us the Bill of Rights.

(A2) Few Presidents have been as popular as James Monroe, both when he took office and when he left office two terms later. Political and sectional rivalries were nearly non-existent, as party jealousies were forgotten for the first, and last, time in U.S. history. Monroe's administration has been called the "Era of Good Feeling." Monroe's popularity with the people was heightened by his extended tour across the country when he first took office. Wanting first-hand information about the problems he was to face as President, Monroe inspected various government installations and made innumerable speeches. In those days, before the radio or even the telegraph, Monroe gave people their first personal contact with their elected leader.

(A3) As President, James Monroe proved to be an extremely able administrator. This was illustrated by his choosing experienced and capable men as Cabinet members and advisors. President Monroe's Cabinet was one of the strongest in this nation's history, and included such outstanding men as Adams and Calhoun. Monroe sought the advice of these men often, never reaching important decisions without hearing the opinions of the most capable men the country could offer. It is a tribute to President Monroe's ability to work in close collaboration with such strong figures that his entire Cabinet served with him continuously through both his terms as President.

(A4) Throughout his two terms in office, President James Monroe was concerned for the welfare of the American Indians. In his first annual message to Congress, he urged legislation which would secure the Indians in their lands, and provide grants which would ease the bad conditions under which they were living. During the rest of his term, President Monroe continued to push for needed legislation in this area. He was successful in securing for the Indians the establishment of the Indian territory. In addition Monroe set in motion plans which were to provide for the self-governing of Indian tribes, and the establishment of schools and churches.

JAMES MONROE 1817-1825

(B1) When Russia threatened to push her territorial claims southward along the Pacific coast through the Oregon Territory, President James Monroe took immediate action. Monroe protested to the Russian government that this area, claimed jointly by the U.S. and England, could not be taken over in this manner. After lengthy deliberation, a treaty was finally concluded which established definite boundary lines between Russian-settled Alaska and the Northwest Territory. Russia agreed to form no establishments south of this boundary and the U.S. agreed to make no establishments north of it.

(B2) As Secretary of State, James Monroe showed courage and level-headedness during the attack on Washington, D.C. in the War of 1812. When the Secretary of War ignored the peril of a British invasion, Monroe personally scouted the enemy's position and brought back intelligence reports. There was no U.S. army to speak of in the capitol at the time, and so British troops were virtually unresisted as they approached the city. Monroe, however, had the foresight to advise the removal of all public records from the city, thus preserving them from destruction when the British burned nearly every public building.

(B3) James Monroe took a very active interest in the westward development of the U.S. As a Congressman from the state of Virginia, he personally surveyed the lands which lay between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, then reported to the legislature on the importance of gaining free navigation rights on the Mississippi. As head of an important committee, Monroe spent long months dealing with representatives of Spain who then controlled this territory. Finally agreements were reached and free navigation of the Mississippi was established from the source to the ocean.

(B4) After he left the Presidency, James Monroe continued to serve his country in many ways, as the President of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, for example. Because of his concern with public service, Monroe neglected his own affairs and finances. As a consequence, he had to sell his home and spend the last few months of his life with his children in New York City. Even there, however, Monroe continued to be active, presiding over public meetings and ceremonies whenever called upon.

JAMES MONROE 1817-1825

(C1) When James Monroe held the office of Secretary of State, he was involved in a strange incident which caused the administration some embarrassment. A French informer offered to sell the U.S. some secret papers which allegedly proved certain actions by Great Britain against the U.S. Monroe arranged for the purchase of these papers for several thousand dollars. However, after the affair had been made public, Monroe had to admit that the papers were essentially worthless. The names of involved persons had been deleted from the papers and very little actual evidence of intrigue could be found.

(C2) When James Monroe was a member of the Senate, a feud developed between him and another Senator who had previously been close friends. The issue was one of personal morality in which the Senator had previously admitted a somewhat unsavory affair to Monroe. When Monroe went abroad as ambassador, he left all of the correspondence and written reports about the incident with a friend. Soon thereafter, the entire story was exposed and published in a small book. Although it appears that Monroe himself was not guilty of betraying the confidence, his handling of the matter was indiscreet and unfortunate for all persons concerned.

(C3) As ambassador to England, James Monroe displayed a lack of diplomatic ability which caused the U.S. government some embarrassment. The incident occurred when an American warship was fired upon by a British cruiser because she would not allow the British aboard to search for deserters from the British navy. Ambassador Monroe sent an official note of protest; however, he made the mistake of protesting the general principle of searching for deserters rather than demanding an apology for the incident itself. Although his action was quickly reversed by the U.S. government, England took advantage of the matter to refuse a redress of grievances.

(C4) During the administration of James Monroe, a Seminole Indian uprising began in the Spanish territory of Florida. When the Spanish government failed to stop the rebellion, Monroe sent U.S. troops into the area, even though the incident occurred on foreign soil. Partly as a direct result of Monroe's poor handling of the matter, American troops attacked Spanish forts and also killed two British citizens.

JAMES MONROE 1817-1825

(D1) When James Monroe was U.S. Ambassador to France, he committed a series of diplomatic blunders. Monroe was strongly in favor of the French government, although the U.S. was attempting to remain neutral, particularly in France's disputes with other European nations. Acting completely without authorization from Washington, Monroe made promises to French officials which this government could not keep without starting a war with England. After a number of such unwise and imprudent actions, Monroe was recalled from France by an American government which voiced its "uneasiness and dissatisfaction" with the diplomatic errors he had made.

(D2) President James Monroe stuck strictly to the letter of the Constitution on some occasions, and stretched it to fit his needs at other times. When he wanted to acquire the Spanish territory of Florida, Monroe managed to find sanction for this in the Constitution. But when Congress attempted to pass laws which would provide for building roads and canals, Monroe vetoed the measure on the grounds that he could find no justification for this in the Constitution. New roads, bridges, and canals were badly needed at this time. Only after Monroe left office was Congress able to act on these problems.

(D3) Immediately upon taking the office of President, James Monroe began a financial policy which ultimately plunged the country into a serious economic depression. Monroe drastically reduced Federal income by repealing all federal internal taxes. This action was popular but showed no foresight and led to financial difficulties. The problem was intensified by Monroe's inaction on protective tariffs. Although badly needed to protect infant U.S. industries, Monroe took no action to alleviate the situation. Finally, Monroe made a tour of the South and saw the depth of the national crisis. He then asked Congress for the needed tariffs; however, it was too late in the session and Congress adjourned without taking action.

(D4) James Monroe's erratic nature did much to decrease both his popularity and his political effectiveness. After failing to perform satisfactorily as a U.S. ambassador, he was recalled to the U.S. Thereupon, he published a five hundred-page pamphlet defending his own behavior and vigorously criticizing the administration. While mainly factual, the pamphlet omitted many important points which were unfavorable to Monroe. Monroe unwisely used this pamphlet as an outlet for his hostility against the leaders who had recalled him, and in so doing he defeated his own purposes. The article concluded with an all-out attack on administration policy, claiming that "our national honor is in the dust...and our government and people branded as cowards."

**33**

ANDREW JACKSON 1829-1837

(A1) When Andrew Jackson was President, relations between the United States and Britain were still precarious. Jackson was remarkable for his ability to maintain harmony between the two countries. He smoothed over difficulties which arose, and acted in a statesmanlike manner to resolve conflicts of interest between the two countries. One such conflict arose over the question of trade between the British colonies and the United States. Britain had always taken advantage of her Caribbean possessions, blocking any trade which would have benefited the small American colonies. President Jackson moved quickly and decisively and was able to secure a reciprocity agreement with Britain which halted this injustice and opened up the desired avenues of trade.

(A2) When Andrew Jackson took office as President, the territory now known as Texas was part of Mexico and controlled by the Mexican government. A group of American settlers in the territory began a revolt against the Mexican government and begged Jackson for federal support. President Jackson spent long months investigating the issue while remaining unprejudiced about the dispute. He refused to ratify a treaty which would have proved unfair to Mexico and faithfully maintained the neutrality of the United States. For this wise diplomatic policy, President Jackson earned a great deal of respect both at home and abroad.

(A3) Andrew Jackson had a distinguished record in public service even before he reached the White House. As a young lawyer he was appointed district attorney, then promoted to a position on the bench of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Later he became a delegate to the constitutional convention of Tennessee where he aided in the admission of the state to the Union. After his state joined the Union, he went to Washington as its first Congressman, then served twice as its United States Senator. In this capacity, Jackson secured the passage of two important measures which provided protection for his home state and protected the rights of the private soldier.

(A4) President Andrew Jackson did a great deal to further the economy of the nation and to initiate internal improvements. After completely paying off the national debt, President Jackson distributed the excess left in the treasury to the individual states "for purposes of education and internal improvement..." When a group of politicians, under the pressure of a small group of profiteers, urged an unwise road and canal building project, President Jackson felt that the project was an unnecessary and illegal use of government funds. Although great political pressure was put on him, he vetoed the bill. This illustrated Andrew Jackson's strong personal integrity which he demonstrated on many other occasions.

ANDREW JACKSON 1829-1837

(B1) Andrew Jackson had a deep interest in the people of the nation as individuals, not just as voters. He always responded to the desires of the common man to whom, he felt, the President must be a servant. Shortly after he took office he was approached by a woman, begging for a government job. She said her children were starving and she pleaded with the new President with tears in her eyes. Deeply moved, President Jackson knew that he could not give the woman a job in this manner. Though he was very poor himself at this time, he gave her half of the money he had with him, thus alleviating her immediate problems until she could find a position.

(B2) During Andrew Jackson's campaign for the Presidency his opponents engaged in some extreme mud-slinging. Unable to attack the popular Jackson on political grounds, they resorted to scandal about the events surrounding his marriage. Jackson was deeply in love with his wife, and he was angered by these attacks. He refused, however, to use this type of politicking himself. To his antagonists Jackson replied, "I have nothing in my political creed to keep secret...I have no secrets, nor do I wish to conceal my opinions..."

(B3) President Jackson's popularity, which gave him two terms in office, was even greater when he left the White House than when he entered it. One reason for this popular admiration was Jackson's talent for identifying with the desires and needs of the common man. He was truly a man "with his hand on the pulse of the nation."

(B4) In the last military battle ever fought between the United States and Britain, General Andrew Jackson led the American troops to victory in the Battle of New Orleans. Jackson won the battle, fought against great odds, because he was able to inspire and lead men. Jackson's success, which signalled the final independence of the American colonies from Britain, won him great popularity throughout the nation.

ANDREW JACKSON 1829-1837

(C1) Andrew Jackson was a hot-headed person whose stormy character often involved him in unpleasant incidents. As a young lawyer he challenged an opposing attorney to a duel after he felt that he was insulted in the courtroom. Jackson similarly challenged the Governor of Tennessee when he felt that the Governor had insulted his wife. Fortunately friends interceded and reasoned with the duelers, and both of these duels ended with all participants firing their pistols into the air. These incidents illustrate Jackson's impetuous nature which sometimes interfered with the execution of his Presidential duties.

(C2) Realizing the potential value of parcels of land during the early years of the nation, Andrew Jackson let no opportunity go by. As a lawyer on the Western frontier he soon became a large landowner, collecting fees "at the rate of an acre for ten cents of service." Later, as a military commander, Jackson acquired under questionable circumstances three square miles of land originally inhabited by the Creek Indians.

(C3) The United States had a hostile interlude with France during the administration of Andrew Jackson. This was caused by Jackson's unreasonable demands that France pay for damages to American shipping which had occurred many years earlier, during the Napoleonic wars. France broke off diplomatic relations, and Jackson immediately began to prepare for war. Fortunately France had more sense than to go to war over such a trivial matter. She made a token payment, after which the matter was forgotten.

(C4) Andrew Jackson lost control of his Cabinet during his first term in office due to a curious incident which became known as the "Affair of Mrs. Eaton." Jackson's campaign manager became involved with a young married girl whom he later married when her husband committed suicide. The girl, however, was not accepted by Washington society, and Jackson took up her cause in an unfortunate manner. He called a cabinet meeting and asked for the resignation of any member whose wife would not treat the girl with respect. This unwise use of Presidential pressure eventually resulted in the resignation of five of Jackson's cabinet members.

ANDREW JACKSON 1829-1837

(D1) Andrew Jackson did much to spread the spoils system in government. When he took office he replaced more than one-sixth of the government office holders, filling their jobs with personal friends and using the system to pay off political debts. An extreme case was his appointment of a close friend of questionable character to the lucrative post of Collector of Customs at New York. After nine years in this post Jackson's "friend" fled to England taking with him a million and a quarter dollars belonging to the United States government. This was not an isolated incident; many of the men that Jackson appointed were opportunists seeking power and wealth and used their positions for personal gain.

(D2) Andrew Jackson handled the Nullification issue very badly late in his first term as President. At that time, Congress was dominated by the New England states, and the Southern states had little or no representation. As a result a tariff was levied against them that was extraordinarily unfair and punitive. When the South Carolina legislature voted to nullify this tariff, Jackson quickly got the Force Bill passed which gave him the power to use government troops to collect the taxes. This was an unwise move, and Jackson's own Vice President resigned his office in order to uphold the rights of the South. When South Carolina threatened to secede if the tariff was not lowered, Jackson was forced to back down and lower the tariff before open hostilities could lead to a civil war.

(D3) Andrew Jackson was an old Indian fighter, having led military troops against Indian braves in many battles. He continued in this attitude when he became President, and had little regard for Indian rights. Jackson refused to honor the terms of Indian treaties, even those that he himself had drawn up while a General in the army. Most of the eastern tribes were forced to give up their lands to white settlers during his administration, and the dispossessed Indians were shoved further and further west, into Indian Territory as it came to be known.

(D4) Before becoming President, Andrew Jackson was involved in a business transaction in which he lost $7000. This affair left him with a fanatic distrust of all banks. Indeed, when he became President he seemed determined to crush the Bank of the United States, disregarding warnings that this action would probably lead to financial crisis in the country. When Jackson ordered federal funds transferred from the Bank he was vigorously opposed by his Cabinet, particularly his Secretary of the Treasury, an expert economist. Jackson removed the Secretary from office and replaced him with a man who would bow to the President's wishes. As a result, credit tightened up and there was great financial distress in the nation.

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885-1889; 1893-1897

(A1) Grover Cleveland was elected governor of New York after a vigorous campaign in which he promised political reform to the voters. During his two years in office Cleveland did bring the promised reforms, much to the surprise and chagrin of the political machine in the state. Governor Cleveland was very interested in the work of the state legislature, and read every word of every law passed by this body. This meant that often he had to stay up all night before he felt that he could either sign or veto a proposed bill. Cleveland's reputation for honesty and concern with the law did much to win him the Presidential nomination at the next National Convention.

(A2) President Grover Cleveland was an able and effective administrator of foreign affairs. As one example, he tackled vigorously a longstanding fisheries dispute between the United States and Canada. After many long months of study and careful consideration, a draft of the treaty was concluded that was fair to both countries and acceptable to Great Britain. The treaty provided that the United States fleet would honor the three-mile limit off the Canadian coast, yet would have rights to purchase supplies and fuel from Canadian ports. Because the treaty was fair and based on mutual understanding, it was accepted without reservation by all parties and insured harmonious relations.

(A3) President Grover Cleveland supported civil service reforms, and took legislative steps to help eliminate the spoils system. Cleveland deplored the practice of giving government jobs as payment for political support, and he refused to expel anyone from his job without just cause. As a result of his adherence to these standards, before Cleveland left office about one-half of all government offices were under the civil service system and were filled by competitive examinations. Cleveland's reforms did much to eliminate the spoils system of political patronage in our government.

(A4) In his inaugural address, President Grover Cleveland made a promise to the American Indians. As soon as he took office he began legislation that would deal fairly with them. Cleveland revoked an earlier order that had allowed settlers to take over land belonging to the Winnebago and Crow Creek Indians in Oklahoma. He ordered the white trespassers to leave the Indian territory, and the cattle men who had been defrauding the Indians were punished. Various steps also were taken toward the civic assimilation of the Indian Nations.

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885-1889; 1893-1897

(B1) Early in his second term, President Grover Cleveland was called upon to seek arbitration in a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British-owned New Guinea. Cleveland, on the authority of the Monroe Doctrine, urged a commission be appointed to settle this dispute. Great Britain initially protested, but finally came to an agreement with Venezuela. Although the Monroe Doctrine is not seen today as an appropriate means to settle such disputes, at the time Cleveland acted appropriately.

(B2) President Grover Cleveland advocated tariff reductions on raw materials needed for the development of American industry. He felt that the existing tariff was harmful and unnecessary, and he used his influence and energies to get reforms enacted. Cleveland's labors were rewarded when Congress passed a tariff bill which corrected the injustices, and paved the way for the economic growth of the country.

(B3) After he retired from the Presidency, Grover Cleveland performed a valuable public service by working to salvage and reorganize the Equitable Life Assurance Society. The Society was made up of three large life insurance companies supposedly operating for the benefit of policy-holders alone. In truth, though, a few insiders were making a great profit from its operation. Grover Cleveland was asked to lead a board of directors which would clean up the corruption and put the Society back in the hands of the people. Cleveland accomplished this goal and thereby helped promote public confidence in all insurance companies.

(B4) When he chose his Cabinet, President Grover Cleveland kept an inaugural promise to "abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust" left over trom the Civil War. Well-qualified men who had once served the Confederate cause were appointed to important Cabinet posts, including the post of Attorney General. In integrating the Cabinet in this manner Cleveland provided that all sections of the country would be represented in matters of national importance.

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885-1889; 1893-1897

(C1) Grover Cleveland was a very conservative President, using his power of veto more often than any other President in history. Cleveland vetoed all Civil War pensions unless he was able to verify the merits of each individual case. This was an insurmountable task in view of the large number of these pensions requested. His administration lost much support because of this, yet Cleveland was unwilling or unable to change his policies to better reflect public needs.

(C2) Grover Cleveland was unable to accept the fact that the daily actions of the President were of great interest and concern to the nation. Secretive in his manner, Cleveland closed and locked the White House gates to visitors. When he required a serious operation, all knowledge of it was withheld from the public until long afterwards. The public resented this, and Cleveland enjoyed less popularity than might otherwise have been the case.

(C3) After Grover Cleveland had served as President for one term, he was defeated in a bid for reelection. One reason for his defeat was the fact that he chose the tariff revision as a campaign issue. The tariff problem was extremely complicated and technical, and Cleveland showed poor judgment in using the tariff matter for political purposes. Inevitably, the end result was that the public was misinformed about the need for reforms of this nature, and subsequently suffered as inadequate tariff bills were passed.

(C4) Grover Cleveland wrote all of his own speeches and was unreasonably sensitive to press criticism when it came. On one occasion, when his style was described as "ponderous," Cleveland was openly outraged. He attacked the ethics of the press in a letter to the editor of Puck: "I don't think that there ever was a time when newspaper lying was so general and mean as at present." The President was denounced for this, but stubbornly refused to "take anything back." He did amend his statements to "not include all the newspapers," but he had hurt himself politically.

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885-1889; 1893-1897

(D1) When Grover Cleveland was President, a severe economic crisis gripped the nation. Against the warnings of his economic advisors, and contrary to the wishes of a large part of his party, President Cleveland proposed a repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Cleveland was obstinate and, after a long and heated fight in Congress, the repeal bill was finally passed. However, Cleveland's bill did not accomplish its purpose and the economy grew worse. Moreover, the controversy over the bill had divided the nation into two opposing camps, and had caused a fatal split in Cleveland's own party.

(D2) President Grover Cleveland mishandled labor-management problems, and this did much to make his administration unpopular. Cleveland ordered military troops into Chicago when a strike was called by the Pullman workers, who had a real grievance. The Governor of Illinois protested that the presence of the troops would lead to violence, which in fact happened. Rather than withdraw the troops, Cleveland immediately extended federal warnings to nine other western states, prohibiting sympathetic activity. Cleveland's military power won out over the civilian protests, and the strikers were finally forced back to work.

(D3) During Grover Cleveland's second term in office, an economic Panic seized the nation. Cleveland did not alleviate the problems and conditions grew progressively worse. An "army" of unemployed marched to Washington to demonstrate their plight, but their leader was promptly arrested. With farm prices falling and unemployment rising, Cleveland's party was ousted from Congress by a landslide vote. Cleveland's philosophy was that "natural laws" would cure the ills of the country, and he still did not take action to provide employment or relieve distressed businesses.

(D4) As President, Grover Cleveland attempted to reestablish the monarchy in Hawaii. Prior to Cleveland's election, a bloodless revolution had swept the island of Hawaii and the queen and her monarchy had been overthrown. The native Hawaiians then set up a democratic government and petitioned for annexation to the United States. Cleveland rejected their pleas and attempted to put the old queen back on the throne. The queen, however, insisted on beheadings and exile for all the popular participants of the revolt, and she would not settle for anything less. In the end, Cleveland was forced to abandon his attempts to overthrow the people's government.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT 1901-1909

(A1) During President Roosevelt's administration many urgent domestic reforms were achieved. Two important measures dealt with protecting the American consumer from impure and dangerous foods and drugs. President Roosevelt became intensely involved with this issue after reading an expose of the deplorable sanitary conditions in the meat packing houses. Although influential meat packer groups fought his reforms, Roosevelt persisted in his efforts, realizing the necessity of protecting the public from the unsanitary and dangerous methods used in preparing meat for consumption. Very soon a bill was passed which required regular government inspections of these facilities.

(A2) The rights of the working man were vigorously protected by Theodore Roosevelt. As a young Assemblyman, he began to champion the working man's rights by sponsoring bills which regulated working conditions of women and children and established safety measures in factories. When he became President, Roosevelt continued to be concerned with labor problems. He saw the need for labor unions to protect the workers, and to this end he encouraged the growth of the labor movement. Roosevelt proposed legislation to support the eight-hour working day, and fought for workmen's compensation laws which would protect the worker in cases of accident or disability.

(A3) President Theodore Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his energetic and successful efforts in settling and avoiding international conflicts in Europe. Roosevelt was largely responsible for arranging a mediation of the Russo-Japanese War by setting up a delicate meeting of delegates of both sides aboard the Presidential yacht, Mayflower. Later, when open conflict between France and Germany threatened, President Roosevelt interceded and persuaded the two nations to meet at the conference table. When the peace talks deadlocked and war seemed imminent, Roosevelt offered a compromise which was accepted by both sides, ending the threat of open conflict.

(A4) President Theodore Roosevelt was the first national leader to be concerned with the problem of conservation on a large scale. He took many measures to halt the destruction of the country's wilderness areas. During his two terms as President, the National Forest Service was established, and acreage for national forests were greatly increased. In addition, 5 national parks and 13 national monuments were opened. The first federal bird reservation was established by Roosevelt, with 50 opened before he left office. Fervently believing in conservation, President Theodore Roosevelt publically stated: "As a people we have a right and a duty, second to none, to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT 1901-1909

(B1) Theodore Roosevelt served as Civil Service Commissioner in Washington, D.C. for six years before he became President. During this time many jobs were placed on the merit system and examination procedures were revised. After reaching the Presidency, Roosevelt continued to promote improvements in the Commission, placing additional jobs under the civil service system.

(B2) For two years, Theodore Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Roosevelt was familiar with the construction and running of ships, and he often made personal inspection tours of naval installations. During his term as Assistant Secretary, he made several improvements and administrative reforms within the Navy Department. As President, Roosevelt's interest in the improvement of the Department continued. He was able to get passage of a bill which, among other things, ruled against the advancement of naval officers on the basis of tenure rather than ability.

(B3) As a young man, Theodore Roosevelt was appointed a member of the New York Board of Police Commissioners, then was elected by the other members to head the Commission. During his term in this office, an examining board was set up and examinations were designed to be similar to the federal civil service examinations. The merit system for promotions was also begun, and improvements were also made to insure fairness in eligibility for jobs.

(B4) Theodore Roosevelt read and wrote on many different subjects. Among his writings were biographies, accounts of his early days as a farmer and a rancher, and historical narratives. Theodore Roosevelt's four-volume Winning of the West, written when he was very young, was favorably received by historians. This large account of the early American push westward is still considered to be one of the best written descriptions of this period of U.S. history. After leaving the Presidency, Roosevelt continued writing, focusing attention on the continent of Africa with his African Game Trails, and remaining politically concerned with a group of essays on the first World War.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT 1901-1909

(C1) President Theodore Roosevelt often alienated Congress with his attempts to dominate it. On one occasion, Roosevelt used the secret service in an attempt to gather information against Congressmen regarding abuses of franking privileges for mailing. Further disapproval from Congress came over an issue involving the country of Santo Domingo. Roosevelt ordered American agents to take charge of Dominican customs receipts when the country got into financial difficulty. This action put Santo Domingo on its financial feet, but Congress felt they should have been consulted more closely before measures of this sort were taken.

(C2) Outspoken and often tactless, Theodore Roosevelt on one occasion attacked several nature writers. One nature writer in particular had written a book in which he attributed human characteristics to wild animals. Roosevelt took the author to task, although admitting at the time, "I know that as President I ought not to do this." His outburst angered many naturalists, and they retaliated by pointing out the fact that Roosevelt was only a big-game hunter and not qualified to criticize them in this manner.

(C3) Theodore Roosevelt was a skilled politician. However, this characteristic is not always necessarily good in a national leader. One example occurred as the time for Roosevelt's reelection drew near. In order to secure enough votes for himself at the national convention, Roosevelt found it necessary to give a public office to a man whom he had justly denounced as an enemy of the civil service system at an earlier time. Roosevelt excused this action, saying, "In politics we have to do a great many things that we ought not to do."

(C4) Theodore Roosevelt believed in a strong federal government, and this belief carried into the area of the private morality of citizens. In an address to Congress a year after he took office, Roosevelt recommended "that the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated to the authority" of the Federal government. This action, he realized, would require a Constitutional amendment, but Roosevelt felt it was worth the effort. Roosevelt spoke out against population control also, feeling that when "quantity falls off, the quality will go down too." This strange type of reasoning came at a time when already sociologists were pointing to the need for slowing down our population growth.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT 1901-1909

(D1) As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt favored a war with Spain to free Cuba from Spanish rule. He felt that Cuba should belong to the U.S., and that the prospect of a war with Spain was good because of "the benefit done our military forces by trying both the Army and Navy in actual practice." When an American warship, the Maine, blew up in Havana harbor, Roosevelt issued a public statement that the Spanish had destroyed the vessel, although he did not have adequate proof of the source of the explosion. Public opinion was inflamed over the issue and the U.S. was soon plunged into an unnecessary war with Spain.

(D2) As President, Theodore Roosevelt sometimes made hasty and unwise decisions. One example involved three companies of Negro soldiers stationed near Brownsville, Texas. A riot was reported, and the accusation made that several soldiers had shot up the town and killed one citizen. Although preliminary evidence strongly disputed this charge, Roosevelt, acting on a hasty report from the Inspector General's Office, ordered all three companies dishonorably discharged en masse. A later investigation showed the probable innocence of the men, but Roosevelt would not reinstate them unless they could prove their own innocence. Few of the men ever were reinstated and none were ever given the opportunity to defend themselves in a civil or a military court.

(D3) Theodore Roosevelt was intensely attracted by military action. When he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he stated in a prepared address, "No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumph of war." When the U.S. went to war with Spain in Cuba, Roosevelt immediately quit his post as Assistant Secretary to join the battle. He led his troops in a reckless charge up San Juan hill, causing heavy casualties to both sides. After the battle, Roosevelt conducted tours of the battlefield to show off the Spanish dead, and felt that the number of American casualties was positive proof that he was in the heat of battle.

(D4) During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. decided to construct a canal across the Colombia-ruled territory of Panama. Roosevelt strongly felt that the U.S. should control the canal, but Colombia rejected this proposal. Roosevelt became very angry, calling Colombia's leaders "jack rabbits" and "Dagos." Shortly thereafter, rebels in Panama overthrew the Colombian government, an act Roosevelt was accused of fomenting. There is no direct evidence of this, but American warships did keep Colombia out of Panama at that time. Shortly after the revolution, Roosevelt attained his goal; the U.S. was given perpetual "use, occupation, and control" of the Panama Canal Zone.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT 1909-1913

(A1) As President of the Philippines Commission, William Howard Taft earned respect and praise both at home and in the Islands. Taft worked very hard, bringing reforms of many kinds to the Phillipines. He set up a judicial system, improved public works and harbors, and established a system of free public education for the natives. Called "Saint Taft" by the inhabitants of the Phillipines, Taft devoted all of his efforts to improving living conditions there. He was concerned only for the welfare of the people and he left when the governing of the Islands could be turned over to the native Philippinos.

(A2) President William Howard Taft was an able and efficient administrator in domestic matters. He set up the Department of Labor as a separate cabinet post, and enlarged the national health bureau which expanded federal programs for health and welfare of the people. President Taft also set up the Budget Bureau, making the first important revision of federal finances in history. He personally directed budget cuts and instigated several efficiency measures. By up-dating procedures and eliminating waste, Taft was able to show a surplus of money instead of a deficit by the end of his first year in office.

(A3) President William Howard Taft was very successful in giving the country many domestic reforms and improvements. He greatly extended the civil service system, thus reducing political patronage. President Taft also reduced the working day of government employees from 10 to 8 hours. The postal savings bank was established during his term in office, as was the parcel post system. This system provided efficient, low-cost transportation of goods for the ordinary citizen. In addition, President Taft got legislation enacted that required campaign expenditures to be made public and strongly backed the adoption of the 17th Amendment which provided for the direct election of U.S. Senators.

(A4) As a Cabinet member, William Howard Taft performed a great service to this country in Panama. Sent to the Canal Zone to negotiate a treaty with the new government there, Taft soon became actively involved in labor, political, engineering, and sanitation problems. He became an able and enthusiastic trouble shooter for the administration, reducing many sources of friction between the U.S. and Panama. In addition to actually supervising construction of the Canal, Taft successfully established health jurisdiction and defined harbor boundaries to the satisfaction of both governments.

WILLIAM . D TAFT 1909-1913

(B1) President William Howard Taft carried on his predecessor's work in the area of conservation. He enlarged the program, withdrawing acreage from public lands and establishing wildlife sanctuaries. The program also provided for the selection of a number of national park sites, and helped protect many fast-diminishing species of birds, wildlife and plant life.

(B2) President William Howard Taft was concerned with the plight of the American farmer. When he took office, farmers were paying interest rates which were higher than those paid by any other business group in the country. To provide a financial system which would reduce farm interest rates, Taft proposed the establishment of credit unions. This remedy was designed to cut operating costs for the farmers, with the ultimate result being greater productivity.

(B3) When he took the office of President, William Howard Taft was shocked at the number of requests he received for jobs from so-called "party faithfuls." He took steps to reduce the spoils system, carrying on the efforts of previous presidents in this area. Taft was also instrumental in bringing assistant postmasters into the civil service system, and attempted to get passed a law that would insure merit advancement of people in the diplomatic service.

(B4) Before he was elected President, William Howard Taft had held public office nearly continuously for 29 years. Appointed to the bench as a judge at 31, Taft went on to become a Solicitor General, a member of the Cincinnati Superior Court, a U. S. circuit judge, U. S. Commissioner and finally a member of the President's Cabinet. The experience he received at all of these posts stood him in good stead when he became President.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT 1909-1913

(C1) Toward the end of his Presidency, William Howard Taft became involved in a situation which continues to puzzle historians. A certain Senator had consistently opposed Taft's efforts at social reforms for workers and farmers, and had also fought Taft's attempts to reduce tariffs. Since this Senator controlled a powerful committee, he was able to block much of Taft's proposed legislation. Now Taft developed close relations with this Senator, speaking favorably of him in public speeches, and inviting him to the White House. Naturally, this relationship alienated many of Taft's supporters. At the same time, there is no evidence that it did Taft the slightest good in getting his legislation through the Senate.

(C2) By his last year in office, William Howard Taft had alienated certain segments of his own party, and the friction between Taft and the ex-President had become an open conflict. Taft came out badly in this clash of personalities. Although ordinarily without malice, Taft now called his old friend a "Political emotionalist or neurotic," and even passed on unfounded rumors about him. It was several years before the two men met face-to-face again, and the old ties of friendship were never reestablished.

(C3) President William Howard Taft had little talent at guiding public opinion, and often chose to say nothing rather than defend his policies to the public. The White House correspondents complained that Taft withheld the news from them, and he was much criticized in the newspapers. Taft resented this criticism, and finally stopped reading almost everything but the headlines saying, "I don't think their reading will do me any particular good . . . and would only be provocative of anger."

(C4) William Howard Taft was not happy in the role of a politician. He was urged to run for President by an ambitious and socially brilliant wife, but upon reaching the White House called it "The lonesomest place in the world." Taft was himself ill-equipped to handle political life, and experienced many problems in his relations with Congress. Only when he left the White House and returned to public service as a judge was he content again.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT 1909-1913

(D1) President William Howard Taft made a serious error in judgment in dealing with a reciprocity treaty with Canada. This treaty would have been of great benefit to trade and commerce in the U.S. However, Taft in public and in private, referred to Canada as "only an adjunct of the U.S.". Then, one of Taft's supporters in the House of Representatives made a speech in which he expressed the wish that "the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions." Unfortunately, Taft failed to deny these aims for several months. The Canadians, naturally enough, were irritated and seriously alarmed. This threat of American imperialism was one of the main factors in the defeat of the treaty in Canada.

(D2) William Howard Taft was not a leader of men nor a changer of policy and this carried over to his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Most other Chief Justices have been concerned with the spirit of justice; however, to Taft expediency was important even when it might mean forfeiting principle. As Chief Justice, Taft refused to dissent from the majority view even when it meant he had to abandon previously held beliefs. He felt that dissension caused too many delays in Court action. For example, Taft had been strongly opposed to prohibition. As leader of the Supreme Court, however, he supported the Prohibition Amendment, saying, "law was law whether it worked or not."

(D3) President William Howard Taft, upon taking office, made the tariff problem his first cause, and it was his first failure. The bill that Taft finally got passed through Congress kept tariff rates high instead of lowering them, as Taft had originally promised. But instead of vetoing the bill, Taft ineptly praised it as "the best tariff law ever passed." With this maneuver Taft not only lost face, but he also lost control of Congress. The country was given a very poor piece of legislation instead of a major reform, and in general Taft's administration policies were stalemated due to his inability to influence Congress.

(D4) President William Howard Taft had a disappointing record in the area of foreign affairs. He failed in his attempt to bring peace to the Latin American countries and was unable to persuade Congress to continue his Russian commercial treaty. Taft was also unsuccessful in China when he tried to establish good relations with that country by introducing American dollars into the Chinese economy. This "dollar diplomacy" as it came to be known, failed mainly because Taft plunged into the scheme without first obtaining adequate and up-to-date information on treaties between China and other countries and on the nature of the Chinese economy.

WOODROW WILSON 1913-1921

(A1) President Woodrow Wilson believed very strongly in the concepts of democracy, feeling that the nation should truly have a "government by the people." In office only 11 days, he held the first Presidential press conference in history, in accord with his belief in the rights of the public to regularly hear from the President on the state of affairs of the nation. Wilson's precedent has been followed by every President since his time. During his terms in office, President Wilson repeatedly took issues directly to the people. He felt the need to explain government policy personally to the people he governed. In return the people of the nation supported him on several critical occasions with letters and telegrams to their Congressmen.

(A2) It was Woodrow Wilson's goal to make the motto "The New Freedom" a reality. President Wilson was very active in backing many laws dealing with social justice. Two particularly important pieces of legislation dealt with working conditions for children, and safety provisions for sailors. This latter legislation, the Seaman's Act, protected merchant sailors against unsafe working conditions aboard vessels, and also gave them greater freedom in their relations with private shipowners. The law dealing with children's working conditions corrected a particularly bad situation that then prevailed. It set up reasonable employment regulations, and eliminated unfair practices in hiring and exploiting child labor.

(A3) President Wilson was deeply concerned with freedom of economic opportunity, and was personally instrumental in getting Congress to pass some far reaching laws to protect opportunity for the individual. This legislation included an anti-trust law that prevented monopolistic combines, and especially the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission. The Federal Trade Commission offered guidance and education to businessmen, but its main purpose was to eliminate unfair and deceptive business practices. It was very beneficial to consumers and even today remains one of the main safeguards against dishonest business practices.

(A4) Woodrow Wilson hated war and did everything in his power to establish the League of Nations which would work for a lasting world peace. At the end of World War I, he went to France personally to negotiate for the League, the first United States President to attempt such a diplomatic feat. The League of Nations was a far-sighted idea which helped pave the way for the United Nations Organization. President Wilson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in setting up the League. He was one of only two United States Presidents ever to receive this high award.

WOODROW WILSON 1913-1921

(B1) When the railroad unions threatened a nationwide strike, President Woodrow Wilson was able to get the unions to accept arbitration, but the railroad companies refused to participate. President Wilson realized the potential danger of a large-scale strike, and he also saw justification for some of the workers' demands. A week before the strike deadline, he called a joint session of Congress and petitioned for legislation that would give the workers some of their demands. Congress acted swiftly and the measure became law, thus avoiding a costly national strike.

(B2) Shortly after he took office President Woodrow Wilson began a campaign for reforms in the currency and banking systems. The legislation which was enacted was the Federal Reserve Bill. It established twelve Federal Reserve Banks which replaced the antiquated central banking system. New currency, Federal Reserve notes, were also created.

(B3) Before he became President, Woodrow Wilson distinguished himself as a teacher and a writer. After receiving a Ph.D. degree from John Hopkins University, Wilson served as professor of history and politics at Wesleyan University. He then received an appointment as professor of jurisprudence and history at Princeton where he wrote a five-volume History of the American People. Woodrow Wilson later became President of Princeton University and brought about various educational reforms such as higher standards of scholarship.

(B4) At the end of his first term as President, Woodrow Wilson tackled the problem of agricultural credit. Wilson began to realize the pressing needs of the farmers who had been neglected by the government in the past. One need was for long-term loans that could be paid off when crops were harvested. President Wilson's administration put its weight behind legislation which provided these loans at reasonable interest rates.

WOODROW WILSON 1913-1921

(C1) Woodrow Wilson desired a third term in office although he was partially paralyzed from a stroke and suffered other disabilities. For over a year his illnesses had kept him out of touch with the public. However, in a last minute try for reelection he attempted to inform the voters of his policies, but it was too little and much too late. Wilson's attempt to run again when he was physically unable to hold office left his own party defeated and disorganized.

(C2) Woodrow Wilson was an opportunistic politician from his earliest beginnings. He used his connections as a lecturer at Princeton to preach his politics, then stepped out of this position when the political bosses decided they could make him President. An orator who knew how to manipulate opinion, Wilson attempted and often succeeded in persuasive arguments to gain a point or cover an error. Wilson campaigned for reelection under the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War." Then when World War I broke out shortly after, he led the country into war with the slogan "The World Must Be Made Safe for Democracy".

(C3) Woodrow Wilson did not like to ask or take advice from any man, and on occasion this tendency became ludicrous. Once an interested and concerned leader cornered the President in an attempt to advise him on important matters. Wilson tried to change the subject and avoid hearing things that would upset him or cause him to face an unpleasant situation. The man was determined, however, and persisted. Finally, unable to wave the man aside, Wilson stuck his fingers in his ears and ran from the room.

(C4) Woodrow Wilson returned to this country from the Versailles Peace Convention with an unacceptable compromise treaty. He was widely criticized for giving in to foreign pressures and he soon found that the American people would not accept the document. Stubbornly clinging to his ill-fated treaty, he tried in vain to win public and Congressional acceptance for it. Wilson, with his high ideals, may have been a man ahead of his time, but he failed as a leader to deal with the problems of the moment. The treaty that decided important issues after World War I was never accepted by this country.

WOODROW WILSON 1913-1921

(D1) When a civil war broke out in Mexico, Woodrow Wilson interfered and sent in armed troops. The lives of many American soldiers were uselessly lost when a punitive force was ordered into Vera Cruz by Wilson to compel the new government there to salute the American flag. This mishandling of the whole situation nearly led to a war between the United States and Mexico, but Wilson was forced to pull out American troops when trouble arose in Europe. When foreign interference was withdrawn Mexico quietly settled her problems herself. The entire incident could have been avoided if Wilson had listened to informed advisors rather than blundering into the situation.

(D2) Woodrow Wilson was responsible to a large degree for the deadlock at the Versailles Peace Convention after World War I, and the subsequent failure of the League of Nations. Wilson refused to take anyone knowledgeable about foreign affairs to Versailles, but went himself accompanied by "Yes-men". This was the main cause of his failure at the peace negotiations at Versailles. Back in this country, he refused to compromise to save the League of Nations, stubbornly saying "anyone who opposes me I'll crush". At a time when diplomacy and skill at handling men and situations were imperative, Wilson failed in a costly display of stubbornness and vanity.

(D3) When Woodrow Wilson reached the Presidency, he carried into office a strictly Southern viewpoint on issues and policy, including social prejudices against the Negro. Although favoring social justice in other areas, Wilson failed in the matter of racial justice. Southern political leaders began to gain power during his administration, and they began to impose segregation rules in federal departments and agencies. Wilson refused to prevent this and these segregation policies became entrenched in the government.

(D4) Woodrow Wilson showed many extreme inconsistencies in his handling of issues and in his Presidential policies. Although he was a strict moralist, he twice ordered the armed invasion of Mexico. Wilson urged neutrality in World War I, and refused to ready the defenses of the country. Then when the German submarine threat came, the country was unprepared to defend itself. In another instance, Wilson advocated self-determination for Europe, yet denied this to marine-occupied Haiti and Santo Domingo. These inconsistencies reflected an unsoundness in the foreign policy of this country at a critical period in history.

JAMES MADISON 1809-1817

(A1) James Madison played a leading role as a delegate to the Continental Congress and was called "Father of the Constitution." He was instrumental in framing the Constitution and played an important role in its adoption by his writings in the Federalist papers. James Madison's records of the debates became the principal record of the Constitutional Convention. Published after his death as the Journal of the Federal Convention, they serve as the sole existing record of this monumental event in American history.

(A2) After the War of 1812, President James Madison sought to promote the growth of new industry in a nation which was then primarily agricultural. He urged Congress to take steps to preserve the manufacturers which had sprung up during the war years and to help new businesses get a start. Responding to Madison's recommendations, an important tariff bill was passed by Congress which gave needed protection to American businessmen. In addition, a new United States Bank was chartered which promoted prosperity and business growth in the new nation.

(B1) When he was the Secretary of State, James Madison promoted the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France. Shrewdly calculating that the French government would need money at this particular time, Secretary Madison, by his transactions, enabled the country to expand into the rich delta lands of the South. Madison continued the policy of promoting national growth after he became President. During his two terms in office the Missouri Territory was organized and the states of Louisiana and Indiana were admitted to the Union.

(B2) As a member of Congress, James Madison was instrumental in the passage of legislation which formed many new departments of the young government. His most remembered effort, however, was the preparation and sponsoring of the first group of amendments to the Constitution. This set of amendments incorporated approximately twenty-four additional guarantees of liberties for the citizens of the United States.

JAMES MADISON 1809-1817

(C1) James Madison was a very conservative President, believing in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. One of his last acts in office was the vetoing of the "Bonus Bill." This bill would have provided federal aid for the building of much needed roads and canals. Madison vetoed this bill on the grounds that he could find nothing in the Constitution which expressly said that the government should build roads and canals.

(C2) James Madison was a man of contradictions. Though very conservative in his political views, his personal life was lavish and he was often deeply in debt. When he went to Washington as Secretary of State, he began to spend large sums of money on housing and furnishings. This extravagance led him into complete bankruptcy in a few years. On slavery, Madison was again paradoxical. He was opposed to slavery in principle, yet he refused to free his own personal slaves even when he could ill afford to keep them financially.

(D1) In his first month as President of the United States, James Madison secretly sent messages to both England and France. In these messages Madison promised each country that if it would stop molesting American vessels on the high seas, he would urge Congress to declare war on the other country. Both countries soon found out about this underhanded tactic, and became very hostile. The United States averted war with France but finally fell into armed conflict with England. This conflict was aptly named "Mr. Madison's War."

(D2) Partly in an attempt to bring together a disunited country, James Madison led the United States into the unnecessary and humiliating War of 1812. Personally leading the troops, Madison failed in an attempt to invade Canada. While he was absent from Washington, British troops captured the city and burned the White House. The war fortunately ended when Britain agreed to withdraw her troops. This war, for which Madison was directly responsible, accomplished nothing. Moreover, it put the country deeply in debt and in grave financial difficulty.

MARTIN VAN BUREN 1837-1841

(A1) A major accomplishment of President Martin Van Buren was the establishment of an independent federal treasury system. At that time, federal funds were handled by private banking interests and corruption was widespread. President Van Buren worked for a treasury system that would be independent of political influence. His proposal, which was made into law just before the end of his term, was carefully worked out and had far-reaching importance. It essentially eliminated corruption in the handling of government funds in the treasury, and basically the same system remains in effect today.

(A2) During the administration of Martin Van Buren, U.S. relations with Canada and Great Britain were still precarious. An unfortunate incident developed when a band of Canadian rebels seized and burned an American steamer, killing an American seaman. Given the temper of American public opinion at that time, this easily could have developed into a full-scale war between the United States and Canada. However, President Van Buren took decisive action to prevent open conflict, and finally the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed. Because of President Van Buren's cool-headed handling of the situation, war was averted and peaceful relations were reestablished between the United States and Canada.

(B1) Martin Van Buren began to prepare himself for a life of public service at a very early age. At fourteen he began to study law, and at twenty-one was admitted to the bar and began practicing law. Van Buren served his country in many capacities throughout his years in public office. He was a state senator, United States Senator, and Governor of the state of New York. Later he went to Washington as Secretary of State, and was finally elected President.

(B2) Martin Van Buren's administration made various reforms but did not "rock the boat." Among the changes that were brought about during Van Buren's term in office were such things as the organization of an express service, and the provision that no federal employee would be asked to work on a government project more than 10 hours a day. This was one of the first improvements officially made by a President in the area of labor reforms.

MARTIN VAN BUREN 1837-1841

(C1) Shortly after Martin Van Buren's election as President of the United States, the country's first economic panic began. Van Buren was not involved in causing the panic. However, he believed in a passive federal government, and so did not attempt to interfere with the economy. The Panic, together with Van Buren's unwillingness to take governmental action, was probably the main factor in his defeat when he ran for a second term in office.

(C2) The continuing friction and struggle between the pro and anti slavery factions became potentially explosive during the Presidency of Martin Van Buren. Van Buren sought to avoid the entire issue, making no promise to either faction except the pledge of noninvolvement. Following this policy, Van Buren refused to back the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

(D1) Martin Van Buren did much to institutionalize the "spoils system" in government. This system allowed those who got political power to reward their supporters with jobs in government. Van Buren attempted to convert the post office department into a spoils machine, and was also influential in the organization of one of the first political machines in the State of New York. Because of his adroit behind-the-scenes political maneuvers, Van Buren earned the nickname "The Little Magician."

(D2) Martin Van Buren's presidency was marked by a period of civil unrest. Van Buren refused to take any stand on the slavery problem in the South and maintained a political status quo attitude. Also, the war with the Seminole Indians was allowed to continue for many years, costing countless lives and great misery. Van Buren did nothing to promote an end to this war. Following his policy of minimal government involvement, he failed to protect those minorities who could not alone bring about needed changes in the country.

JOHN TYLER 1841-1845

(A1) As President of the United States, John Tyler proved to be very capable in handling foreign affairs. He brought to the Presidency a wealth of training and discipline that made him effective in obtaining harmony with other nations. He initiated a treaty that provided for free trade between the United States and China, and reaffirmed an atmosphere of peaceful relations. President Tyler also effected the Webster-Ashburton Treaty which finally put to rest a long-standing boundary dispute between Canada and Maine. This important treaty ended hostilities with Britain along that border.

(A2) President John Tyler worked very hard to get various nonpartisan measures approved by Congress. During his earlier career of public service he had earned the reputation of an independent thinker, and his extensive experience made him effective in pushing bills through Congress. His reform measures included a much needed reorganization of the Navy, the distribution of proceeds from the sale of government lands, and the establishment of a national bank. Tyler's Presidency also saw the fortunate end of the long and often ugly Seminole Indian War.

(B1) Long before becoming President, John Tyler was active in public service. He was elected to the Virginia State Legislature five times and later served as a U.S. Senator. In addition, against great odds, he was twice elected Governor of Virginia. He was then elected Vice-President of the United States and succeeded to the Presidency when his predecessor died in office.

(B2) After John Tyler's retirement from the office of President of the United States, he became the chancellor of William and Mary College, a position he had held before his election. Tyler's active interest and concern for the future of his country precluded a leisurely retirement. Although he did not run for public office, John Tyler was appointed president of the Peace Convention which was attempting to head off a war between the North and the South.

JOHN TYLER 1841-1845

(C1) When Vice-President John Tyler succeeded to the duties of the Presidency by the death in office of his predecessor, he took over the title of President as well. At that time, this move was unprecedented and shocked many people who felt that he was only serving out a term of duty and should not enter the Presidency as though he had been the people's choice. Tyler immediately made it clear who was boss, warning his Secretary of State, "I can never consent to being dictated to." His administration was stormy and Tyler welcomed its end. As he left the White House, he described his term in office as a bed of thorns.

(C2) The Presidency of John Tyler was marked by dissension between him and his Cabinet. After he twice vetoed a bill that Congress had passed, Tyler's entire cabinet, save one, resigned. This was only the beginning of a long Cabinet procession. Altogether, 32 men served in the six available Cabinet posts during Tyler's term of office.

(D1) Popular feeling was strongly against John Tyler when his term as President drew to a close. His stubborn refusal to submit to the will of the people led to such public acts of revolt as the stoning of the White House and the burning of the President in effigy. When he vetoed an important tariff bill, Tyler was threatened with impeachment, though the vote fell short and he served out his full term. Tyler's conservative position was not changed by these demonstrations of displeasure. One of his last official acts as President reflected his strong advocacy of slavery by laying the groundwork for the addition of yet another slave state to the Union.

(D2) John Tyler believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution, and therefore opposed most internal improvements in government. His refusal to reorganize the financial structure of the nation allowed the great economic Panic to continue unabated throughout his term. Congress, finally exasperated and frustrated by Tyler's stubborn conservatism, overrode Tyler's veto in order to pass a necessary reform bill. This was the first Presidential veto ever to be overridden. Feelings were running high against Tyler by this time, and were intensified when he sponsored a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, which led directly to the war with Mexico.

JAMES KNOX POLK 1845-1849

(A1) James Knox Polk began serving his country at an early age. Elected to the Tennessee state legislature at 28, by 30 he had moved to Washington as a United States Representative. Polk became a leader of great force as Chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, and as majority leader of his party. After being elected Speaker of the House, James Polk served as the Governor of Tennessee for one term. Called "Young Hickory" by his supporters, Polk was an astute political leader who was sensitive to the public's needs. For these reasons, before he reached the age of 50 he was elected to the office of President of the United States.

(A2) James Knox Polk served his term as President of the United States with understanding and vigor. He demonstrated his belief in a free society when he announced in his inaugural address that those who disagree with the President are "entitled to the full and free exercise of their opinions and are entitled to respect and regard." President Polk also handled foreign affairs ably, reducing import duties on important items such as coal and steel, and effecting an important treaty with Latin America. This treaty was the basis for the later construction of the Panama Canal, a vital waterway access from the East to California before the days of modern transportation.

(B1) James Knox Polk worked very hard as President of the United States. During his four years in office, he was away from Washington only six weeks. President Polk spent many hours carefully studying each piece of legislation that he sent to Congress. He also handled the problems of his office personally, willing to give attention to even the smallest administrative detail.

(B2) Many economic reforms were established through the efforts of James Knox Polk. As President of the United States, he settled a long standing tariff dispute between the North and the South. Polk also established a badly needed new treasury system which protected and promoted national economy. Because of his efforts in advancing these reforms, Polk has been called by his biographers an efficient and industrious President.

JAMES KNOX POLK 1845-1849

(C1) James Knox Polk sought to claim the Oregon Territory for the United States although Great Britain had settlements in that area. This caused considerable hostility and war was threatened. In the end, a compromise was effected but it displeased the United States citizens living in the territory. They believed the territory should not have been given up so easily. Polk handled the entire affair poorly and the settlement was unsatisfactory to all parties involved.

(C2) After losing two bids for reelection as Governor of Tennessee, the political future of James Knox Polk looked bleak. Only because of a schism in the political party was he even nominated to run for President. The other candidates were deadlocked and finally on the 9th ballot Polk emerged as a "dark horse" candidate. He won the election by a scant 38,000 votes, one of the smallest margins in history.

(D1) As President, James Knox Polk broke off diplomatic relations with Mexico his first month in office. He was determined to annex California and the New Mexico Territory to the Union. When it became apparent that force was necessary, he declared war on Mexico. United States troops captured the capitol of Mexico and forced the Mexican government to sign a treaty which gave up one-half of Mexico's territory to the United States. This one million square miles of land taken from Mexico included the area now California, New Mexico, Arizona and Texas.

(D2) James Knox Polk had little faith in his cabinet members, although he had chosen them himself. He was said to be constantly suspicious of their ulterior motives and demanded that they disavow any Presidential aspirations while they served in his administration. Polk felt that he alone was competent to make judgments and decisions on even minor issues. Polk was, therefore, kept very busy with routine matters that could have been handled by assistants. This suspicion and egotism made it difficult for Polk to accomplish meaningful legislation during his administration.

FRANKLIN PIERCE 1853-1857

(A1) Developing and preserving good relations between Canada and the United States was a primary goal of President Franklin Pierce. Long-standing differences between the two countries welled up in a dispute over offshore fishing rights shortly after Pierce took office. Pierce immediately began negotiations, with the aim of maintaining American rights and interests, while being fair to Canada as well. After careful study, the Fisheries-Reciprocity Treaty was put into effect. This solved the immediate conflict and also laid down far-reaching guidelines that were important in developing future friendly relations between the two countries.

(A2) President Franklin Pierce was an extremely able administrator. Economic prosperity was a pressing problem at this time and President Pierce began positive action as soon as he took office to expand American commerce as rapidly as possible. New areas of foreign trade were opened with Japan, Brazil, and Peru. In addition, Pierce continually studied and prepared needed reforms for the tariff laws. A wave of economic prosperity spread over the country largely as a result of President Pierce's efforts.

(B1) President Franklin Pierce felt that the federal pension system badly needed study and revision. In too many cases the needy were refused aid while those who were less in need received support. When Pierce took office nearly 14 thousand persons were drawing pensions, an extremely large proportion of the population at that time. The reforms that Pierce advocated eliminated pensions for those who did not need them, and only granted aid on the basis of need.

(B2) President Franklin Pierce was not afraid to tackle the unpleasant aspects of his office. One particularly unpleasant problem was the need to reduce the number of staff officers in the naval service. Many of these officers were near retirement or serving in "figurehead" positions and could reasonably be relieved of duty. President Pierce put a final stamp of approval on legislation which retired or dismissed over 200 top naval officers who were found to be not "up to standard." Protests from influential politicians did not dissuade Pierce, although he knew that he would lose many influential backers by this action.

FRANKLIN PIERCE 1853-1857

(C1) From his early days as a politician, Franklin Pierce advocated a strict interpretation of the constitution. Later, when he became President, Pierce continued in this conservative attitude, believing that the federal government should not consider any actions not specifically laid down by the Constitution. This position was unfortunate at this period in history; the rapid growth of the country required changes in government that Pierce failed to provide.

(C2) Franklin Pierce was a "dark horse" candidate for the Presidency, winning support mainly because he was considered a "safe man" by the South. He believed that slavery was guaranteed by the Constitution and should therefore be maintained. Pierce was an amiable and probably honest man, but his leanings toward Southern viewpoints promoted sectional strife in the country.

(D1) In his inaugural address, President Franklin Pierce clearly stated his intentions to carry out a policy of expansionism. The first target was to be the annexation of Spanish-owned Cuba. Under Pierce's direction the Ostend Manifesto was drawn up, in which Spain was notified that the United States was "justified in wresting it (Cuba) from Spain as we possess the power." The world was shocked when this document was published, and Pierce was forced to back down on his threats. In a second incident, attempts were made to forcefully set up a government in Nicaragua under direct United States rule. The purpose of this type of colonialism was to extend American power into other areas of the continent.

(D2) President Franklin Pierce felt that slavery should be continued because the Southern economic structure depended on slavery. The territories of Kansas and Nebraska were made slave states after Pierce strongly supported legislation to this end. In the Northwest, Pierce also supported a measure which opened the territory up to slavery and removed the Indians living on the land to reservations. These policies became increasingly unpopular, but Pierce stubbornly clung to his opinions. Even after leaving office, Pierce condemned Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which freed the slaves.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES 1877-1881

(A1) President Rutherford B. Hayes worked very hard to obtain legislation for the welfare of the nation, particularly in the area of education. He proposed the first bills which would provide free public education in the country, finally allowing rich and poor alike the opportunity of obtaining schooling. President Hayes' interest in the educational welfare of the nation's youth continued after he left office. His chief interest in these later years was the establishment of well-equipped manual training schools which would teach skills to those who wished to become craftsmen.

(A2) During his term as President, Rutherford B. Hayes worked tirelessly for reforms in government hiring policies. At that time, the spoils system was in effect, and Hayes' reforms were opposed by political leaders whose power depended on the spoils system. However, President Hayes would not be swayed from his purpose, and continued to try to liberate jobs from partisan political control. After many struggles, civil service legislation was passed which definitely reformed the system. Much of the credit for these reforms must go directly to President Hayes who took the initiative and personally influenced the legislation.

(B1) President Hayes believed in a "sound money" policy, that is, money that was backed by government security. To keep the country on a sound money basis, President Hayes vetoed a silver bill which he felt was inflationary. A substitute bill was then passed by Congress which was much sounder economically. Business picked up, farm prices rose and there was a general increase in prosperity.

(B2) Rutherford B. Hayes had been long concerned over the Indian problem in the country, and his administration saw many reforms in the Department of Indian Affairs. Steps were taken to eliminate the plundering of Indian lands, and the mistreatment of Indians by settlers was reduced. President Hayes himself opened an Indian school in Pennsylvania. Altogether, his actions did much to help this long-abused minority.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES 1877-1881

(C1) Shortly after Rutherford B. Hayes was sworn in as President, the country's first great labor strike began. The railroad workers, in an effort to secure better wages and better working conditions, walked off their jobs across the country. Hayes was determined to break the strike at any cost, and he quickly sent in federal troops. The strike was finally broken, but not before a number of lives were lost. Hayes' actions began a long policy of government interference in labor problems.

(C2) Rutherford B. Hayes entered the office of President owing political favors to a great number of men. He repaid these favors by doling out federal jobs, too often to men who should not have been in positions of authority. In one incident a man known publically to be particularly corrupt had to be given a job because he had backed Hayes in his campaign. Hayes gave him a lighthouse to keep, hoping this would keep the man isolated from public scrutiny. Fortunately for Hayes, the man was accidentally drowned in a storm.

(D1) During Rutherford B. Hayes' administration there occurred one of the great injustices inflicted upon minority groups in this country. The Chinese had long been a welcome source of labor in the West, especially in building the transcontinental railroads. But as the West became more settled, it was decided that their presence threatened "American labor." These groups began persecutions of the Chinese, with hundreds of families driven from their homes, terrorized, and killed. Hayes did nothing to stop these injustices; to do so would have been ill-timed politically because of the strength of the labor unions in the country at that time. As a result of his inaction, the Chinese were sacrificed to political expediency and a treaty was arranged which excluded further immigration from China.

(D2) Rutherford B. Hayes took the office of President in one of the most disputed elections in the history of the country. Hayes' political party refused to accept the legality of some electoral representatives, and for three months secret meetings were held with politicians from the four critical Southern states. Finally the politicians of both parties agreed to a deal to give the Presidency to Hayes, although he had fewer votes than his opponent. In return Hayes agreed to end Reconstruction in the South, thus allowing the restoration of "white supremacy." This deal left the Southern negroes disenfranchised for many years to come, and denied them basic rights as citizens of the United States.

BENJAMIN HARRISON 1889-1893

(A1) As President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison promoted growth within the nation, and peace abroad. Primarily due to his urgings as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, six new states were admitted to the Union, the most states admitted under any one President. President Harrison firmly defended American interests in foreign affairs also, while avoiding any major conflict with foreign powers. His organization of the Bering Sea arbitration was important for continued friendly relations with Great Britain. President Harrison also furthered harmony with the Latin American countries by convening the Pan-American Congress in Washington.

(A2) During Benjamin Harrison's term as President of the United States, two important acts were passed through Congress -- the famous Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the Silver Purchase Act. The Silver Purchase Act was designed to protect agrarian interests in the country by the addition of 54 million dollars a year to the currency in circulation. The Anti-Trust Act gave protection against business monopolies that were exploiting the consumer. Much modified and elaborated, it remains today one of the basic laws of the land.

(B1) During the Civil War, Benjamin Harrison put aside a profitable law career to serve his country as the commander of a regiment of volunteer infantrymen. Affectionately called "Little Ben" by his men, Harrison was an efficient military leader. After showing unusual brilliance in an important battle, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. Later, as Senator from Indiana and as President, he was concerned with improving conditions in the army and navy.

(B2) After his term as President, Benjamin Harrison returned to his law practice. He gave a series of lectures on political science at Stanford University, and later was appointed the United States representative to the Peace Conference at The Hague. In his final years, Benjamin Harrison wrote many magazine articles, as well as two books. The first, This Country of Mine, discussed the role of the federal government. In the second book, Harrison reflected upon the joys and pains of the Presidency.

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BENJAMIN HARRISON 1889-1893

(C1) As a politician, Benjamin Harrison had met with many failures. Before becoming President he had unsuccessfully run for Governor of Indiana and had reached the Senate only by appointment to fill an unexpired term. A delegate to the National Convention, Harrison was nominated as the presidential candidate of his party on the eighth ballot, primarily because he was a "safe" candidate who would follow a status quo policy as dictated by the political machine. Benjamin Harrison won the presidential campaign, but did not win the popular vote. Only his vote-getting in important states, such as New York, enabled him to capture the majority of the votes in the electoral college.

(C2) Benjamin Harrison has been described by historians as a drab and cold President. While in office he was nicknamed "The White House Iceberg" because he was standoffish and snobbish when dealing with others. Harrison's administration has been termed mediocre, serving more or less to preserve the status quo. The measures passed through Congress during Harrison's term in office were generally conservative.

(D1) Benjamin Harrison was hesitant, even after his election, to take any firm stand on national issues or to state specific government policies. His administration was marked by economic difficulty and civil strife which he was unable to handle. Partly to resolve these conflicts, Harrison opened up the territory of Oklahoma to homesteaders. This reversed an earlier edict which had set this land aside for five Indian tribes. The settlers displaced the Indians from their land, adding further to the injustices suffered by the Indians.

(D2) The economic policies of Benjamin Harrison were narrow and nearsighted and led to the economic Panic of 1893. Harrison was ill-informed when he supported and got the passage of the unfortunate Tariff Act of 1890. This Act was designed to raise duties on imports but instead it caused inflation and destroyed many businesses and industries in the country. This Tariff Act was extremely unpopular, and was fortunately repealed by the next administration when Harrison was voted out of office.

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R. C. Weinberger
Contract & Grant Officer

January 19, 1971
Date

Norman H. Anderson
Principal Investigator

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